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he Dialogue between Yama and Yami— Chamupati.

ne Lord's Prayer— llahes Chandra Ghosh.

—Gurudatta.

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THE

VEDIC MAGAZINE.

सर्वेषामेव दानानां ब्रह्म दानं विशिष्यते । (मनु०)

Of all gifts that of Divine knowledge is the highest & noblest.

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MORAL EDUCATION—INDIA'S GREATEST NEED.

Mr. C. N. Zutshi., M. R. A. S. (London).

I.

"Education" according to Prof. James "consists in the organisation of the resources in the human being, of powers of conduct, which will fit him to his social and physical world." The present system of education viewed in the light of this statement, has been a failure; it has failed to develop and organise the powers of conduct in our youngmen who receive their education in the present-day schools and colleges. The education which they receive has been too secular to inculcate any sound morals in Indian youths: I mean it has not encouraged the formation of character in them. The result is that our youngmen do not possess stamina, moral courage—either of action or conviction—honesty of purpose and consistency, and very much lack in strict adhesion to truth. These effects of an epicurean morality on

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the moral development of our youths have been of too disastrous a nature to be exaggerated. Our youths are always taught to regard pain and pleasure as the lords of life and Mammon the only god to be worshipped. The present education has unnerved their character and dwarfed the possibilities of their moral growth. The result is that the present generation of Indians has become very easy-loving, luxurious and over-sensitive to the slightest touch of pain; and so it is that the hardihood of the older generation is gone and a sort of moral effiminacy has come to predominate our national character. The result was inevitable, Indian students being constantly fed on the doctrine of "eat, drink and be merry" without being subject to any moral discipline.

I may now turn to the testimonies of those educationists, scholars, and statesmen who have had the best opportunity of forming an opinion as to the moral progress made by the students under the influence of English education in this country. Speaking of the recipients of our college education the Education Commissioners say :—

"Many unlovely defects of character still give occasion of scorn to those who are nothing if not critical of superficial learning,... .....of self-assertion manifested in a variety of ways, there has no doubtb een plenty. It would be strange if it were otherwise. For in no country under any circumstances has there been equal or similar encouragement to the development of such and other faults. The surroundings of the Indian student are not always favourable to the development of a high type of character."

Sir Monier Williams says;

"In traversing India from north to south, from east to west, I visited many high schools, examined many

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classes, conversed with many Indians under education at our colleges, and was brought into contact with a large number who had passed the University Matriculation Examination, as well as with a few who had taken their degrees and earned distinctions for high proficiency. But, in plain truth, I was not favourably impressed with the general results of our higher educational efforts. I came across a few well-informed men, many half informed men, and a great many ill-informed and ill-formed men—I mean men without true strength of character and with ill-balanced mind."

The late Pandit Bishan Naryan Dar, one of the greatest scholars modern India has produced, judging of the moral effects of the present education, in his well-known book—"Signs of the Times" and in his Essay on "Our Education," says as follows in clear and emphatic words:—

"Our education is very easy and entails no hardship beyond that of cramming. The moral faculties are never called into exercise. The student is not conscious of being subject to any moral discipline. Our education is nil from the moral point of view. In place of character, cramped and narrow no doubt, but firm and simple, tried in the fire of primitive conflict and hammered on the anvil of fate, we have a character which shrinks from the slightest touch of pain, a soft genteel arm-chair morality, a..... .....humanity destitute of a backbone."

Dr. Shaffat Ahmad Khan, M. L. C., in the course of his presidential address at the 4th Conference of the Upper Primary Secondary Edacation Association held on the 19th April 1924, also delivers himself in the same strain. He says :

"The Indian-schools, it is felt, fail in the formation of character. There is no spiritual life which touches

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a boy's inner nature, no corporate unity which sustains and appeals to his affectionate loyalty, no moral or intellectual flame which may kindle his nature."

Such being the state of affairs I may, without fear of contradiction, assert that the work of English education so far as the moral development of, and building of character in our youngmen are concerned, has been utterly disappointing. Apart from the importance of men of character from the individual point of view we need men of character from the Government point of view as well. If our educational system is improved in the light of the moral needs of the people, corruption in the Public Services will soon be a thing of past. The Reformers of 1835 to whom the present system is due had no doubt this aspect of education in mind when they said ;

"That only by education in English, and after European methods could we hope to raise the moral and intellectual tone of Indian Society and supply the administration with a competent body of public servants."

From the Indian national point of view this phase of our moral degradation is fraught with disastrous consequences which it is impossible to exaggerate. Morality is the backbone of a nation and a necessary asset in a country's progress. No work of national regeneration or nation-building, of which we stand badly in need in India to-day, however good-intentioned it may be, can be a success until and unless our youths, in whose hands the future destiny of the nation lies, are well-grounded in sound morals. Character-building is the foundation of nation building. India needs to-day men of heroic character, sterling virtues and self-sacrificing natures to work out her destiny and carry the nation forward to higher stages of national existence so as to

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win for her a proper place once more among the great nations of the world. This is the dire need of India to-day. India has produced men of such type of character as made their names in history. She does not need such men as are intellectual giants but moral pigmies, such for instance as are turned out every year by a metirio-intellectual factory. To pray with the poet who sang the following lines, India has need of such men of character;

"God give us men, a time like this demands,
"Great hearts, strong minds, true and willing hands,
"Men whom the lust of office does not kill,
"Men whom the spoils of office do not buy,
"Men who possess opinion, and a will,
"Men who have honour, men who will not lie."

This prayer of the poet cannot be fulfilled unless moral education is given to our youths so as to develop character in them For as Smiles says, "Character is the greatest motive power in the world," as Blackie puts it—"Money is not needful; power is not needful; liberty is not needful; fame is not needful; cleverness is not needful; even health is not the one thing needful; but character alone—a thoroughly cultivated will—is that which can truly save us; and if we are not saved in this sense, we must certainly be doomed."

It must be borne in mind that this can only be attained if we direct our attention to improving the quality and not increasing the quantity of education in India—a fact to which the Governor of Bombay only lately drew attention as being the greatest educational need of India. For as George Elliot says:

"For getting a fine flourishing growth of stupidity there is nothing like pouring out on a mind a good

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amount of subjects in which it feels no interest." When we think of the enormous amount of worthless matter with which the minds of our youths are stuffed, we are reminded of Falstaff's bill, and "the half-penny worth of bread to all that quantity of sack." This is typically true of the present educational system which is based on a mistaken conception of what education really is. We want health in character no less than health in body and mind.

"A FRIENDLY WISH."

Dr. K. C. Pandya M. A., Ph. D., D. I, C.

Although at the present moment, we are all furiously trying to forget all communal and provincial considerations—all that is right in so far as it may help to bring about a real union of hearts—I cannot resist the feeling of gratification and of pride at the fact that the illustrious Founder of the Arya Samaj hailed from Gujarat, my own home. It is true, indeed, that, unlike another of Gujarat's greatest sons, I mean Gandhiji, Swami Dayanand did not live in Gujarat, nor did he shed on it the glory of his great personality; in his case, however, the loss of Gujarat has verily become the gain of the whole of northern India.

It is nearly fifty years since the great Swamiji was at the height of his power and influence. During this period his name has continued to be revered and honoured by hundreeds of thousands of his countrymen, and this number is going up every year. The growth of the Arya Samaj during the same period shows two distinct phases.

In the earlier phase we see the Samaj as a vigorous, even boisterous and militant body, at once austere and aggressive, devoted to the verge of dogmatism and fanaticism to the personality and the teachings of their Foun-

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der, and in its ardour for reform, not conspicuously peaceful or pleasant or even actually constructive.

Perhaps this was unavoidable in the circumstances that prevailed in the social and religious life of the people at the time. It may even have been rendered necessary on account of the reception that every reforming and purifying movement is sure to meet with, in any conservative society in the world, particularly when it takes up an attitude of an uncompromising criticism of, and an unbending opposition to, deep-rooted beliefs and time-honoured customs. One may go even a little further and say that the first phase must have played an important part in bringing about the later growth, with its more constructive and practical achievements that really distinguish the second phase.

Whatever may have been the actual feelings and real views of the leaders at the time, this new phase began to assume a definite shape, and whatever, also, may be the present day workers' reading of the change, there is not the least doubt the thoughtful people have welcomed the second phase with pleasure no less than relief. Nor is it a secret that the new features this phase has introduced have contributed as much to the strength of the Samaj itself as to the cause of reform, of educational progress and of Indian nationalism over a larger part of the country. There may still be errors and excesses—and what movement in the world that has lived and flourished has ever managed to escape them both ?—but it is clear that, in the latter phase, the militant and the controversy-loving side has been considerably softened and has not infrequently given place to an earnest and concrete appreciation of constructive work. The wonderful organisation, the stern devotion, and the

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heroic renunciations that have unquestionably distinguished the Arya Samaj, have all been turned to worthier ends and have so far shone with a more brilliant lustre. That this body, instead of standing aloof, with an imaginary halo of self-constituted greatness, has chosen to throw itself whole-heartedly in the broad stream of the general life of the people, and take its place along with other forces that are making for progress and for reconstruction in our country, must be taken as an event of very great importance and full of great promise.

Opinions may vary as regards the exact religious beliefs, the precise educational machinery, or the actual line of work adopted at some places. That is as natural as it is inevitable. There is, however, no doubt that, speaking broadly, the entry of Arya Samaj in the varied fields of our life has infused a kind of new life in many of our institutions and in most of our movements.

It is sincerely to be wished that, whatever may be the character of the third phase, the Samaj will succeed in conserving in its future growth all those elements that have made for its strength in the second phase, and that its programme of work will always be so framed that it can work in harmony, and even join forces, whenever that is practicable, with the other great movements in the land. Not, indeed, at the cost of its own individuality, and certainly never ceasing to make its peculiar contributions to the general good, but remembering always that we can have only that much of real freedom as we are prepared to extend to others, that the whole nation is greater than any part or party, that humanity is greater still, and that "Unity in Diversity" represents the greatest truth in the world, just as it sums up, most succinctly, the fundamental endeavour of Science, of Philosophy, and if I may say so, of all true Religion.

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THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN YAMA AND YAMI.

INTRODUCTION.

The dialogue between Yama and Yami is the subject of a famous hymn (X. 10) of the Rig Veda. Commentators have never agreed as to the final import of the poem. The crux of the problem is what Yama and Yami are. In the Vedas in only one more place, *viz.* Y. V. 12. 63, the pair is mentioned together, and there the author of the Shatapatha Brahmana (7. 2. 1. 10) takes Yama to mean Agni and Yami to denote Prithivi.* So does that of Gopatha in II. 4. 8† In Shatapatha Brahmana 7.1.1.3 too Yama is mentioned in connection with Prithivi. He regulates the apportionment of space in it.‡ In S. B. 7. 1.1.4. Yama is expressly pointed out to be the king.§ Elsewhere in the Brahmanas Yama is mentioned alone. It stands somewhere for the Sun,‖ in other places for the Wind,¶ in yet other places for the Household Fire.** The root-meaning, underlying the term, as stated in Shatapatha Brahmana 7. 2. 1. 10 and 14. 1. 3. 4, is that of control.* Whatever Yama and Yami be, the connection between them according to the Brahmanas, should be one similar to that between the Earth and the King, or to that between the Earth and the Sun &c.

Vedic mythology which later gave birth to the Pauranic pantheon takes its first shape in the Vrihaddevata. In this

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* अग्निर्वै यम इयं (पृथिवी) यमो आभ्यां श्ं हीदश्ं सर्वं यतम्।
श. ७. २. १. १०.

† अग्निर्वाव यम इयं यमी। गो. २. ४. ८.

‡ यमोह वाऽस्याः (पृथिव्याः) अवसानस्येष्टे। श. ७. १. १.३.

§ क्षत्रंवै यमः। ७. १. १. ४.

‖ एष वै यमो य एष तपति। श. १४. १. ३. ४.

¶ एष वै यमो यो ऽयं पवते। श. २. २. ११.

** अयमेव एव गार्हपत्यो यमो राजा। श. २. ३. २. २.

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book (6. 154) notice is taken of the dialogue between Yama and Yami. There it is stated : —

> Yama declined to accept the request of Yami for sexual intercourse. The dialogue beginning *O chit* etc. took place (on that occasion) between these two children of Vivasvan.*

The author of Vrihaddevata thus makes Yama and Yami brother and sister. He is the first to posit this relation between them. He goes even further. In 6. 163 he says :—

> Of Saranyu were born Yama and Yami to Vivasvan. They were twins of whom Yama was the elder.†

The brother and sister are now made twins. To the authors of the Brahmanas, as we have stated above, this relation did not suggest itself. By the time of Vrihaddevata, however, the tradition that Yama and Yami were twins and that Vivasvan and Saranyu were their parents, appears, somehow, to have gained ground. The foundations of the mythological school of Vedic interpretation were laid in the Brahmanas, but there the pantheon was yet in a fluid form, the spirit behind the personification of deities being yet present to the minds of the writers. Vrihaddevata petrified the form of each deity, and assigned to him or her a definite lineage.

In R.V.X. 17. 2 occurs the word *Saranyu*, which Yaska, and following him Sayana, render as 'the moving one.'‡ This and the preceding verse, translated mythologically, mean :—

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* मैथुनार्थमभीप्सन्तीं प्रत्याचष्टे यमीं यमः ।
तदोचिदिति संवादो विवस्वत्पुत्रयोस्तयोः। बृहद्देवता ६. १५४.

† सरण्यूर्वां जज्ञाजे यमयम्यौ विवस्वतः ।
तौ चाप्युभौ यमावेव ज्यायांस्ताभ्यां तु वै यमः । बृ. ७. १६३.

‡ सरण्यूः सरणात् । निरुक्त १२. ९ ॥ सरण्वती ।
Sayana's Com. on R. V. X. 17. 2.

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'Twashta arranges the marriage of his daughter, wherefore the whole universe assembles. The mother of Yama, the bride that is being married, of the great Vivasvan disappears. X 17.1 They conceal the immortal one from mortals. Having made her of an agreeable form they give her to Vivasvan. As matters stand now, (she) the Moving One gives birth to Ashwins, and renounces a couple. X 17. 2*

Twashta is the Divine Designer. His daughter, *duhita*, literally one from whom he remains detached,† is Nature, *Prakriti*. Her marriage, Vahatu, is her transition from her latent to a patent state. The phenomenon described is that of creation, for which the moving impulse—*Vahatu* derivatively means impulse—comes from God. Assembling of the universe (*Sameti*) is its integration. Yama is that soul which exercises self-restraint,‡ as distinguished from Vivasvan, in whom the desire to manifest itself, *Pravritti*, is strong. To the former Nature is mother, to the latter wife. Translated literally *mata* (r. *ma*) is one who helps (the soul) in self-fulfilment, and *Jaya*, one through whom one reproduces one's self. By the self-controlled soul Nature has done her duty. Like a wise mother she no more interferes in its affairs. For one who is yet possessed with desire, Nature is at once the cause and means of repeated births. As a new bride she keeps him bound. At the stage of creation the latent phase of Nature vanishes. From mortals *prakriti*, chaos is concealed. In her new state, *viz.* when she is patent, Nature wears forms, agreeable forms. The word used is *savarna*. It fits in beautifully with the metaphor of marriage.

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* त्वष्टा दुहित्रे वहतुं कृणोतीतीदं विश्वं भवनं समेति । यमस्य माता पर्यूह्यमाना महोजाया विवस्वतो ननाश । R. V. X. 17.1.
अपागूहन्नमृतां मर्त्येभ्यः कृत्वी सवर्णामददुर्विवस्वते ।
उताश्विनावाभरद्यत्तदासीदजहादुद्वा मिथुना सरण्यूः । X. 17. 2.

† दुहिता दुर्हिता दूरे हिता । Nirukta. 3. 4.

‡ यमः उपरतः परोक्षकः । Dayanand's Com. on R. V. 12, 15,

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The bride is of the same *varna* as the bridegroom. The Sankhya theory of *Prakriti's Purushartha* i.e. the conformability of the process of material evolution to the necessities of the souls is adverted to in the Veda in its usual poetic style. Of nature thus wedded are born Ashwins, which Shatapatha Brahmana 4. 1. 5.16 renders as Ether and Earth,* which between them cover all stages, from the subtlest to the grossest, of the evolution of matter. The pair which nature gives up is Twashta, her father, and Yama her intelligent son. With them she has nothing to do as wife.

In the above verses poetry and philosophy are combined. Somehow a myth has been fathered on them, of which the earliest record is kept in the Nirukta of Yaska. Alternately with his own interpretation he gives that of the mythologists, according to whom "Saranyu, the daughter of Twashta bore to Aditya Yama and Yami as twins. She giving her place to another of the same form, and assuming the shape of a mare fled away. Aditya, too, took the shape of a horse, went after her, and co-habited her. Of her were Ashvins born and of the other woman, of her form, was born Manu."† The reader will see that in the verses there is no mention of Yami. Yama alone is the son of Saranyu, 'moving nature.' The equine form too is a later invention. To Yaska himself 'the mother of Yama' signifies night‡ for which we substitute its larger, cosmological counterpart, *viz.*, chaos before creation. Whatever meaning the reader may assign to the verses, they do not support the myth built on them as the basis of the story. Yama and

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* इमे ह वै द्यावापृथिवी प्रत्यक्षमश्विनाविमे हीदꣳ सर्वमाश्नुवाताम्। Sh. B. 4. 1. 5. 16.

† तत्रेतिहासमाचक्षते—त्वाष्ट्रो सरण्यूर्विवस्वत आदित्याद्यमौ मिथुनौ जनयाञ्चकार, सा सवर्णामन्यां प्रतिनिधायाश्वंरूपं कृत्वा प्रदुद्राव, सविवस्वानादित्य आश्वमेवरूपं कृत्वा तामनुसृत्य सम्बभूव, ततोऽश्विनौ जज्ञाते सवर्णायां मनुः। Nirukta 12. 10.

‡ यमस्य माता..... रात्रिः। Nirukta 12. 11.

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Yami cannot, on their authority, be considered to be twins or even brother and sister.

Before tapping further extraneous resources let us now examine the evidence which the hymn we are considering is supposed to contain in favour of this assumption, *viz.* that Yama and Yami are brother and sister, and as such even twins. In verse 5. Yami is made to assert :—

> The divine omniform genitor Twashta, the progenitor made us two husband and wife, even in the womb.*
> R. V. X. 10. 5, (Wilson's Translation.)

'In the womb' means 'before birth.' The verse only implies that the marital relation, on which Yami was insisting, had, according to her, been ordained by God before they were born, as He had intended them to be spouses by giving them similar attributes, and that therefore that relation could not now be gainsaid. 'In the womb' does not mean 'in the same womb,' not at all 'simultaneously in the same womb.' How commentators have, one after another, stumbled against this verse and read into it a meaning with which they were already obsessed, though in the text there was not the least inkling of it, is an amusing coincidence in the history of Vedic interpretation. No other word in the whole hymn can be made to lend colour to the assumption that the characters of the dialogue are twins. Any married couple may express the sentiment conveyed in this verse without at all implying that they are blood relations. That Yama and Yami are brother and sister, though not twins, is inferred from several other expressions in the hymn, which we shall presently take up in the order in which we come across them in the dialogue.

1. In the first verse Yami calls Yama her *sakhā*, which Sayana in his commentary on the Rigveda interprets as 'com-

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* गर्भे नु नौ जनिता दम्पती कर्देवस्त्वष्टा सविता विश्वरूपः।
ऋ. १०. १०. ५.

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panion since their conception in the womb.'* The meaning of the word *Sakha* is only 'companion' ; what is added is simply Sayana's fancy which may without damaging the literal meaning of the text be omitted. In his commentary on the Atharva Veda, in which too this hymn *viz* R.V. X.10. occurs as a part of a larger hymn *viz*. XVIII. 1,, he interprets the same word alternately with the above rendering as implying 'one with a similar repute, *viz* that he is the son of the same father Vivasvan.'† Here the explanation given of the similarity is Sayana's own ; it is nowhere implied in the text. *Sakha* means simply 'one known for similar qualities.'

What is to be noted specially in this verse is that Yami, while she calls Yama her *Sakha*, longs also for his *Sakhya*. And *Sakhya* according to Sayana means 'friendship which here is the union of a male and a female.'‡ When the terms *Sakha* and *Sakhya* occur in the same context, they cannot be made to bear different significances. All commentators agree that what is sought after by Yami is the marital relation. The word *Sakha* then would mean 'one who is connected in matrimony *i. e.* is husband.' In the Saptapadi, which forms an essential part of the marriage ceremony among Aryans, the seventh step is taken for *Sakhya*.§ The married couple are comrades. They should have a similar repute, *i. e.* should possess the same sort of qualities, otherwise the union would be unhappy.‖ Thus the word *Sakha*, however it may be derived, would more aptly signify a spouse than a twin or even a brother. The relation between the

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* गर्भवासादारभ्य सखिभूतम् ।
Sayana's Commentary on R. V. X. 10. 1.

† सखायं समानख्यानं यमम् । विवस्वत्पुत्र लक्षणा ख्यातिः ।
Sayana's Com. on Atharva Veda. XVIII. 1. 1.

‡ सख्याय स्त्री पुरुष संपर्क जनित मित्रत्वाय । Sayana's Com.

§ सखे सप्तपदी भव । विवाह विधि in the Grihya Sutras

‖ सवर्णाग्रे द्विजातीनां प्रशस्ता दारकर्मणि । Manu. 3. 12.

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King and the Earth, too, which according to the Shatapatha Brahmana exists between Yama and Yami, is recognised in Sanskrit literature as one between a married couple, not as that between brother and sister. This may, to some, seem a far-fetched conclusion. Its significance, however, when other more direct evidence supports it, cannot be controverted. In Sanskrit the King is *Prithivi-pati*, never *Prithivi-bhrata*

(2) In verse 2. Yama admits that he is Yami's *Sakha* Only he does not like that 'one united to him by affinity in characteristics and aims' *Salakshma* should now disclose 'divergence in tendencies, *(Vishurupa)* ! Sayana translates 'Salakshma' as 'one endowed with the same characteristic, *viz*, that of being born of the same womb'* and 'Vishurupa' as 'of a different form because she is a sister.'† Wilson compresses this exposition so as to stick simply to Sayana's unwarranted explanation of 'the similarity of chracteristics, which similarity alone, without that spurious explanation, the text signifies. His translation is :—'Although of one origin, she is of a different form" Griffith too follows the same line. He renders the sentence as 'her who is near in kindred as a stranger.' Neither of the two terms we are discussing can convey even the remotest implication of consanguinity. The objection of Yama is based on Yami's imploring what Yama's inner mind does not now allow. He has been her *Sakha*, but now will be bound no more by the obligations of that *Sakhya*. He has another *Lakshma* aim, which Yami as his *Salakshma* should further. It is highly repugnant to him that she should thwart his path. Yama appears to have taken some new resolve which does not allow him to share his wife's bed. Swami Dayananda in his commentary on Yaju VII. 47 renders Yama as "one who has lost his attachment to household indulgences and is engaged in the practice of rules of self-control and self-discipline."‡ The

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*सलक्ष्मा समान योनित्व लक्षणा। Sayana's Com. on R. V. X. 10. 2.

†भगिनीत्वात् विषमरूपा। Sayana's Com. on R. V. X. 10. 2.

‡गृहाश्रमजन्य विषय सेवनादुपरताय यम नियमादि युक्ताय।
Dayananda's Com. on Y. V. VII. 47.

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exigetics of the Swami is the same as given by the author of the Shatapatha, whose, of extant commentaries on the Yajurveda, is the first and therefore chronologically the nearest to the age of the original *mantras*. Later Shastras too allow a householder, when he feels the impulse of renunciation strong in him, to cut all ties of home and become Sanyasi,* provided he makes satisfactory arrangements for the maintenance of his family. If Yama be such a person, the uneasiness of his wife over the absence of progeny, to which she reverts again and again in her pathetic appeals† and which prompts her to beg for a restoration of the sexual tie (*Sakhya*),‡ a tie which she finds abruptly breaking with her former *Sakha*, becomes at once intelligible. She does not share the humanitarian resolve of her husband and is therefore *Vishurupa*. She thinks her husband by neglecting to perform his connubial duties by which alone he could continue the line of his ancestors, is courting death, for those alone who remain in the household begetting progeny, become by such conduct immortal.§ In vain does he argue that the heroes of God are the great sons of the human family—they it is who have a broad outlook; they save the whole humanity from perdition.‖ To Yami it is inexplicable, why when the Sun and the Earth, which were in the course of the marriage ceremony held out as instances of the constancy of married couples, never sever their relationship, her bond with Yama should be so suddenly cut off.¶ The advice of

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*यदहरेव विरजेत्तदहरेव प्रव्रजेद् वनाद्वा गृहाद्वाब्रह्मचर्यादेव वा पप्रव्रजेत्। जाबाल ४।

† पितुर्नपातमाददीत। R. V. 10. 1.
जन्युः पतिस्तन्वमाविविश्याः। Ibid X. 10. 3.
उशन्ति घाते अमृतासः। Ibid X. 10 3.

‡ यमीर्यस्य बिभ्रियादजामि, Ibid X. 10. 9.

§ उशन्ति घाते अमृतास ऐतदेकस्यचित्त्यजसं मर्त्यस्य। Ibid X.10.3.

‖ महस्पुत्रासो असुरस्य वीरा दिवो धर्तार उर्विया परिख्यन्। Ibid X. 10. 3.

¶ दिवा पृथिव्या मिथुना सबन्धू यमीर्यमस्य बिभ्रियादजामि। Ibid X. 10. 9.

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Yama to his wife to have recourse to another man for progeny* would in that case be is consonance with the injunctions of Shastras, for when the husband becomes a Sanyasi, the wife, if she cannot do without offspring, is allowed to resort to Niyoga.† A thorough examination of all the verses of the hymn alone will show if this hypothysis can hold good. Let us, therefore, proceed with the texts which according to Sayana and later commentators who base their exposition on his, make out Yami to be the sister of Yama.

(3) In verse 4. Yama says :—" She is our common parent hence our near affinity." (Wilson's Translation). The word for parent here is *nabhih*, literally navel. Sayana translates it as 'the cause of birth, *i. e.* parents.'‡ Who are these parents ? 'Gandharva in the firmament and (his) wife that is in the firmament.' Sayana takes Gandharva to mean the Sun and his wife to be no other than Saranyu.§ Behind the mind of Sayana is working the tradition recorded in Vrihaddevata, *viz.* that Yama and Yami are twins born of Saranyu to the Sun. What was there in the insistent imploration of Yami contained in the last verse to require this reference to their common parentage on the part of Yama ? If we follow Sayana, the literal meaning would be that Sun is in the firmament, and so is wife. Where is the word to imply that the wife is his ? *Yosha* is an independent word, and the word *Gandharva* used in juxtaposition to it would more aptly mean a husband. In A.V. 14. 2. 4. *Gandharva* is the second appelation of a husband, where in accordance with the four duties assigned to him, he bears four names, *viz.* *Soma Gandharva.*

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* अन्यमिच्छस्व सुभगे पतिमत् । Ibid X. 10. 10.

† नष्टे मृते प्रव्रजिते क्लीवेच पतिते पतौ। पञ्चस्वापत्सु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते । पराशरी ६. ३०.

‡ उत्पत्तिस्थानं माता पितरावित्यर्थः । Sayana's Com. on R.V.

§ अप्सु अन्तरिक्ष नामैतत् अन्तरिक्षे स्थितः गन्धर्वः गवांरश्मीनां..... धारयिता आदित्यः अप्या अन्तरिक्षस्था सा प्रसिद्धा योषा मादित्यस्य भार्या सरण्यूश्च । Ibid.

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*Agni, and Manushyajah.** Solicited for marital relation as husband in the last verse, Yama naturally answers:—'The husband fulfills himself in Yajna, so does wife. That is the navel (axle round which we revolve). That is our procreation.' *Apah* which Sayana takes to denote firmament and thereby gives the verse a mythological air, we render as *yajna* according to Shatapatha Brahmana 3.1. 4. 15.† According to the Aryan conception marriage has for its object Yajna, *i. e.* activity which will benefit the whole world. To that end is progeny procreated. It is a duty, with which may alternate only Sanyasa, *i. e.* renunciation of hearth and home for selfless service of the world. *Nabhih* appears to us to be used here in the sense in which it occurs in Atharva Veda III. 30. 6, where fire, symbolical of Yajna, is called Nabhih, *i. e.* navel round which the married couple are exhorted to revolve as spokes of a wheel revolve round the axle.‡ *Jami* is translated by some as fraternal relation. The root-meaning of the word is procreation. Those who assign to it the former meaning derive it also from the same root. We do not deny that in literature a sister is also called *Jamih* but the more popular meaning is wife or woman, as we shall show when discussing verse 9 below. Here the word is an Abstract Noun and stands for the relation of *Jamih*.

P. Budha Deva Vidyalankar suggests, that the word Gandharva as used here may be taken to mean God,§ and Yosha nature. Then the iterpretation assigned to the verse by Sayana might, with these reservations, hold good. Only, it will be thereby divested of its mythological setting for which there is no foundation in the text. The parentage

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* सोमस्यजाया प्रथमं गन्धर्वस्तेऽपरःपतिः । तृतीयो अग्निष्टे पतिस्तुरीयस्ते मनुष्यजाः । अथर्व १४. २. ४.

† आपोहि यज्ञः ।श. ३. १. ४. १५.

‡ सम्यचो अग्निं सपर्यतारा नाभिमिवाभितः । A. V. III. 30. 6.

§ So in A. V. II. 1. 1. दिव्यो गन्धर्वो भुवनस्य यस्पतिरेक एव नमस्यो विक्ष्वीड्यः ।

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adverted to would be that of the Heavenly Father and Mother. A husband taking the orders of Sanyasa may in that case look upon his wife as sister, as progeny of the same Heavenly Parents. Yama means to hint that the tie between him and Yami would henceforward be fraternal instead of matrimonial. This interpretation, thinks the Pandit, will facilitate the exposition of Verses 11, 12. The suggestion is valuable and will appeal to many. We wait for some historic testimony of the actual practice of a husband looking upon his wife as sister after assumption by him of the functions of Sanyasa.

(3). In verse 9 Yami prays that "the Sun may by the instance of day and night give him (Yama) a lesson" by which she probably means that he may be united to her as are day and night to each other. " The Sun and the Earth are a correlated couple, and they are united. Let Yami be unrelated as sister (to become wife) to Yama."* We follow in the last sentence, with a little alteration, the translation, of Sayana given in his commentary on the Atharva Veda. He has wrongly made *Jamih* of *Jami*, thus changing the gender of the word. We have restored the original word in the text and adapted the translation thereto. *Vivriyat* in the Atharva Veda where in the Rig Veda there is *Bibhriyat* makes no material difference. Sayana's translation in the Rig Veda is not clear. Wilson renders the line as :— "Yami will adhere to the non-affinity of Yama." The word on which the hypothesis of the fraternal relation between Yama and Yami is based is *jamih*. It is understood to mean sister. That the matrimonial relation is unsisterly is thought to be pointed out by this verse. The word *jamih*, in reality, admits of a variety of meanings. It is more generally used to denote wife or woman.† In verse 4

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* यमस्याजामिः अबन्धुः स्वसृ रूपबन्धुत्वरहिता सती..... ।
Sayana's commentary on A. V.

† जामयो यानि गेहानि शपन्त्यप्रतिपूजिताः । तानि कृत्याहतानीव विनश्यन्ति समन्ततः । मनु ३. ४८.
जामिः स्वसृ कुलस्त्रियोः ।कुल्लूक

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above, this word has been used in the neuter gender, as it is used here, and there the meaning is simply *relation*. Griffith translates it as 'kinship.' With Sayana the literal meaning is *bandhutva*, which while interpreting *Sabandhu* in this very verse he renders as *bandhan, i. e.*, relation* 'As sister' is his own elucidation of the relation. The word *jami* in verse 4. is qualified by the word *paramam, i. e.* greatest. Yama points out to Yami that the relation he refers to *viz.*, that of constancy in *Yajna*, is the greatest. Till that time Yami had insisted only on the marital relation, which according to her involved the obligation to beget progeny. Yama could decline her offer by pointing to some greater obligation under the same relationship, *viz.*, that of husband and wife, not under another, *viz.*, that of brother and sister. *Jami* therefore, as used in verse 4. means matrimonial relation. The same is its significance here. The sentence with which the verse concludes appears to us to be interrogative and to convey a taunt. During the marriage ceremony the bridegroom assures the bride that they are to each other as the sun and the earth.† Yami appears to remind Yama of that assurance and thus to affiam that they, too, once united are united once for all. Should Yami alone suffer a breakage of the matrimonial tie ? Is she to remain no more wife to Yama ? This rendering would give pointedness to the reasoning of Yami and make the dialogue natural. The simple affirmation implied in the other rendering is forced and prosaic.

(4). Yama answers to the above remonstrance in the following verse. According to Sayana's rendering in his commentary on the Rig Veda it means :—"There will come ages when sisters will make others than brothers their husbands. Yami should therefore seek some one other than Yama to be her

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* सबन्धू समान बन्धने.....एकमनस्के ।

† द्यौरहं पृथिवी त्वं तावेव विवहावहै सह रेतो दधावहै ।
Gribya Sutra,

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husband.....* The logic implied in this translation is intelligible. If incest was to be disallowed in future, why was Yami asked to avoid coitus with Yama in that age? The translation given in Sayana's commentary on the Atharva Veda is just the opposite of the above. It reads :—"There will come ages when sisters will contract an unsisterly relation *i. e.*, the relation of wife. Yami should therefore seek some one else....."† Sayana here apparently means that in the time of Yama incest was prohibited not simply in theory, but in practice also the people conformed to that rule. The hankering of Yami was execrable, which it would not be in some future degenerate age. Yaska appears to bear out Sayana though he forbears to translate the word *jami* in his rendering of this verse.‡ Elsewhere, however, he takes the word to mean sister.§ In the wording of the verse there is no implication of futurity. The word *uttara* means 'subsequent.' To us the meaning of the verse appears to be :—"There do come times subsequently (to wedlock) when wives cease to have intercourse with their husbands. Seek therefore another mate than me." In the Smritis under certain circumstances when the husband leaves the wife without progeny Niyoga is allowed.‖ The wife in such a state seeks progeny from some one else than her husband. This temporary relationship is regulated by rules. There was a provision of this kind in the

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* यत्र येषु कालेषु जामयो भगिन्यः अजामि अभ्रातरं पतिं कृण्वन् करिष्यन्ति ता तानि उत्तराणि युगानि आगच्छान् आगमिष्यन्ति यस्मादेवं तस्मात्... . ...अन्यं पतिं इच्छस्व । Sayana's Com. on R. V.

† यत्र येषु आगामिषु दिनेषु जामयः बन्धवः स्वसृभूताः अबन्धुत्वं भार्यात्वं कृण्वन् कुर्युः । Sayana's Com. on A. V.

‡ यत्र जामयः करिष्यन्ति अजामि कर्माणि । निरुक्त ४. २०.

§ जामये भगिन्यै । निरुक्त ३. ७.

‖ देवराद्वा सपिण्डाद्वा स्त्रिया सम्यङ्नियुक्तया । प्रजेप्सिताधिगन्तव्या सन्तानस्य परिक्षये । मनु ९. ५९.

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Old Testament.* Abu Hanifa under some similar instinct declares an offspring born during long separation between a husband and a wife to be the legitimate progeny of the absentee husband.† The tie between the husband and the wife is not in such a case sundered. Only for the purpose of procreation the new mate shares her bed. The original spouses are simply *ajamis*, literally, they for the time being do not procreate. The answer so construed is quite a natural one. The rendering makes no change in either the tense of the verb or the literal sense of the text. In the logical chain there is no gap for imagination to supply, as in the case of Sayana's rendering—and other commentators simply follow Sayana—there is.

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* Deuternomy XXV. 5—10.

5. If brethren dwell together and one of them die, and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger ; her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her.

6. And it shall be, *that* the first that she beareth shall succeed in the name of his brother *which is* dead that his name may not be put out of Israel.

7. And if the man like not to take his brorher's wife, then let his brother's wife go up, to the gate unto the elders, and say 'My husbands' brother refuseth to raise up unto his brother a name in Israel, he will not perform the duty of my husband's brother.

8. Then the elders of his city shall call him, and speak unto him, and *if* he stand *to it*, and say I like not to take her;

9. Then shall his brother's wife come unto him in the presence of the elders, and loose his shoe from off his foot, and spit in his face and shall answer and say, So shall it be done unto that man that will not build up his brother's house.

10. And his name shall be called in Israel, The house of him that hath his shoe loosed.

† Hidaya. Tafsir Kabir Vol. III p. 183.

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(5) The strongest point which seems to have determined the opinion of traditional commentators beginning from the author of Vrihaddevata, which point probably gave rise to the whole myth of the fraternity of Yama and Yami, is the use of the words *bharata* and *swasa* in verses 11. 12 with reference to Yama and Yami respectively. The apparent meanings of these words are 'brother' and 'sister.' In this sense they are used in classical and modern Sanskrit. The Vedic usage of words, however, is sometimes found to differ totally from the significance they bear in later Sanskrit. We shall look for these words elsewhere in the Vedas, and find out what meanings they bear in the context in those places. In R. V. I. 92. 11. Sayana takes the word *swasa* to mean night, which is so called as it *moves* of *itself*.* Moving of one's self, then, is according to Sayana, the root-meaning *of swasa*. In R. V. VI. 55. 4. the sun is called the *jara* of *swasa*.† Sayana translates it as :—Pusha (the sun) is the lover of the Dawn.§ In R. V. I. 92. 11 Sayana makes Dawn the wife of the Sun.§ In R. V. I. 71. 1 *Swasarah* (the plural of *swasa*) is in apposition either with *janayah* (wives) who, longing ones, seek a longing husband or with *gavah* (rays) which meet.....the Dawn.‖ From these quotations it is clear at least that the word *swasa* is in the Veda not confined to its present popular meaning, *viz.* that of sister. Used in its derivative sense it may qualify other substantives. There is nothing repugnant to its Vedic use in its standing for a wife

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* स्वयमेव सरन्तीं निशाम्। Sayana's Commentry on R. V. I. 92. 11.

† स्वसुर्योजार उच्यते। R. V. VI. 55. 4.

‡ यः पूषा स्वसुरुषसो जारः उपपतिरुच्यते॥ Sayana's Com. on R. V. VI. 55. 4.

§ जारस्य....सूर्यस्य योषां जाया उषा॥ Sayana on R. V. 1. 92.

‖ उपजिघ्रन्नुशन्तं पतिं न नित्यं जनयः सनीळाः।
स्वसारः श्यावीमरुषीमजुष्रञ्चित्रमुच्छन्तीं मुषसं न गावः॥
R. V. I. 71. 1.

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also. Thus if Yami be the wife of Yama and call herself *swasa*, *i. e.*, one who moves (for the marital relation) of herself: she does not offend against Vedic usage. Modern eugenics recognises that the initiative in sexual intercourse, in order to be fruitful, should be taken by the wife. Smritis regard it a sin on the part of the husband not to accede to the request of his wife when the proper time for sexual union has arrived. In the text the word *swasa* stands alone without any genitive preceding it so as to make it signify the relation to the *swasa* of Yama. Yami calls herself *swasa*, not his *swasa*. The word therefore indicates Yami's attitude, instead of relation, with regard to Yama. The initiative comes from her, and thus she is *swasa*. The word 'bhrata' is derived from the root *bhri*, meaning "to support." *Bhrata* was originally one who supported.* In his commentary on Atharva Veda XVIII.1.19 Sayana renders it alternately with other meanings as 'supporter.'† Yaska's derivation of the word is the same,‡ though his translation of the term is 'one supported.' Sayana in his commentary on Rig Veda III.53.5 gives as the synonym of bhrata, *poshakah* supporter.§ Now this duty devolves on the husband. Hence the appelation of the wife *bharya*, one to be supported, In A. V. XIV.1.52 the husband promises to regard his wife as one to be supported by him.‖ In one of the manuscripts of Sayana's commentary on the Atharva Veda, used by S. P. Pandit in his edition of that Commentary, Yama, instead of being styled *bhrata*, the brother, as in other manuscripts, is styled *bharta*, the husband of Yami.¶ The alternate

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* भ्रातृ..... originally meaning supporter. Monier William's Dictionary.

† भ्राता भरणकर्ता वा। Sayana's Com. on A. V. VIII. 1. 19.

‡ भरतेः.....भर्तव्यो भवतीति वा । Nirukta 4. 29.

§ भ्राता पोषकः। Sayana's Com. on R. V. III. 53. 5.

‖ ममेयमस्तु पोष्या। A. V. XIV. 1. 52.

¶ तत्र यमी मिथुनार्थं स्वभ्रातरं (S स्वभर्तारं) यमं बहुप्रकारं प्रार्थितवती। Sayana's Commentary on the A. V. edited by S. P. Pandit.

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reading is evidently a slip of the writer's pen, for the rest of the commentary proceeds on the mythological assumption that Yama and Yami are twins. The slip, however, is an amusing one; it reveals the subliminal mentality of the writer, a result probably of his study of the whole hymn. The plea of Yami is that by Yama renouncing his connubial relation with her she will be left without any one to look after her. If the objection of Yama were on the ground of fraternity, there was nothing to prevent him from assuming the duty of guardian which should naturally have devolved on him. He was, it appears, adopting some mode of life, which would take him away from Yami, and make him otherwise, too, incapable of minding her affairs. In such a case it would be a sin to approach one's wife even when she herself desired coitus with a view to have progeny. For to a Sanyasi sexual relation is forbidden. This explanation fits in with the rest of the hymn.

In case we accept P. Budhadeva's explanation of verse 4 given above that the common parentage of Yama and Yami is simply their being the progeny of the Father in heaven, the words *bhrata* and *swasa*, even in their modern connotation, *viz.* that of brother and sister, will then denote a secondary relation *viz.* that of common humanity. Yami will be the sister of Yama, not because their parents on earth are the same, but because he being a Sanyasi looks upon her as a child of his Heavenly Father. The meaning of the verse then would be "What is this turning a brother, when supportlessness ensues?" The assumption however that the fraternity is a result only of a widening of the outlook of a husband when he becomes a Sanyasi, requires, as we have said, stronger testimony from the historical record of Arya notions and customs.

We have thus examined all the passages in the hymn we are considering on which commentators base their assumption that Yama and Yami are brother and sister. The myth recorded in the Vrihaddevata has no foundation either in the Vedas or the Brahmanas. Most of the terms, from the use of which in the hymn Sayana infers that Yama and Yami are born

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of the same parents, such as Sakha, Salakshma Nabhih, Jami, would be more aptly employed in addressing a spouse. The words *bhrata* and *swasa* have been shown by quotations from the Veda itself to bear also another significance than that of brother and sister. That significance is the primary one and would, if accepted, be perfectly in consonance with the spirit of the hymn. We thus see that the dialogue would be more naturally interpreted if to Yama and Yami be assigned the tie of marriage instead of that of fraternity. We shall now adduce positive evidence to show that the wording of the Veda favours the assumption of the connubial relation.

(1) In verse 3. Yami soliciting coitus addresses Yama expressly as husband who should, says she, be desirous of begetting progeny.*

(2) In verse 5 she asserts that they had been made husband and wife in the womb.† The explanation offered by the traditional commentators has been discussed above. We have shown conclusively that the traditional interpretation is fanciful and far-fetched, The meaning we take is the most obvious one. Yami means that the matrimonial relation between them was designed by God and cannot therefore be abruptly cut short by Yama.

(3) The instance of the Sun and the Earth (Dyavaprithvi), the relation between which is permanent, and whose model Yami urges on Yama in verse 9, has been noticed already. The couples referred to by the husband during the marriage ceremony as examples of constancy of love are a fit subject for the wife to dwell insistently on when remonstrating against his resolve to renounce hearth and home. She has already hinted at this relation in verse 5 where she said that the Divine Progenitor knows them as the Sun and the Earth.‡

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* जन्युः पतिस्तन्वमा विविश्याः । R. V. X. 10. 3.

† गर्भे नु नौ जनिता दम्पती कः । Ibid X. 10. 5.

‡ वेदावस्य पृथिवी उत द्यौः । R. V. X. X. 5.

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(4) In verse 7. Yami expresses her impatience under sexual impulse. She desires to 'offer her person, as a wife does to her husband.' The two will exercise themselves, says she, as do the wheels of a carriage.* This is another analogy which among Aryans has always been used with reference to connubial life. The house-hold duties are likened to a car, which the husband and the wife daily drive on as wheels. The fraternal relation has never been so compared.

(5) The whole tone of the hymn is such as to convey a deep odour of the matrimonial relation. If Yami were bent on incest, she would not have introduced the subject, as she does in the hymn, without any reserve. She solicits of her *Sakha Sakhya* and exhorts him to raise a heir to his father, so that the line may not perish with him. A sister, once her illegal passion was thwarted, could not have ventured to insist further on the same request. She speaks with a liberty which one entitled to that intercourse could alone have claimed. Yama is not so much as ruffled. Till we reach the words *Bhrata* and *swasa*, which according to modern usage we render as brother and sister, but whose significance in the Veda, as we have shown above, in no way precludes their use to signify husband and wife, we have not the least inkling that the utterers of the verses are brother and sister. One not obsessed with the modern denotation of these words would naturally infer that the characters between whom such confidential talk is so unreservedly carried on can be no other than wife and husband. Even one so obsessed has not a shred of evidence to support his fancy in verses other than only those two, *viz.* 11, 12, in which these words occur. For understanding the Veda we have to move in the Vedic atmosphere. To Vedic words we should assign meanings which Veda itself assigns to them. That, we hope, has been our method in interpreting *bhrata* and *swasa*, which we render respectively as 'supporter' and 'she who takes the initiative.'

* जायेव तत्ये तन्वं रिरिच्यां विचिद् वृहेव रथ्येव चक्रा ।
R. V. X. 10. 7.

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Let us now see whether the very names Yama and Yami bear us out or they stand in the way of our exposition. To Roth it appears that the names themselves signify twins. So they do, but nowhere do orthodox commentators who, too, interpret the hymn similarly, take their stand on this significance of the names. From Brahmanas downwards the root-meaning of the words 'Yama' and 'Yami' has been recognised to be 'one who controls.' Says the Shatapatha (7. 1. 2. 10.) 'By these two, *viz.* Agni (Yama) and Prithvi (Yami) is all controlled.* In R. V. I. 66. 4. Yama is declared to be "of maids"† their, lover of women, their husband. Sayana renders Yama here as Agni, which by the ritual performed by its aid, ends the maidenhood of maids.‡ In Swami Dayanand's Commentary on R, V. VI. 59. 2. *Yamau* in the dual number is translated as controllers, and in the Hindi version, the word is further explained as denoting the couple who control the household affairs.§. According to Sanskrit usage of both Vedic and later times Yamau in the dual number may stand for Yama and Yami, so that if the meaning of Yama be husband which, as we have established, is its Vedic significance, the meaning of Yami would be wife. The dialogue we are discussing, would then be the utterance of a married couple, which, as we have shown, appears to be its most obvious import. The appropriateness of this special appelation of a husband in the hymn would be apparent, if the meaning of *Yama* given in Swami Dayananda's commentary on Y..V. 7·47. to which we have already referred, *viz*

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* अभ्यां हीदꣳ सर्वꣳ यतम् । श. ७ २. १. १०.

† यमो ह जातो यमो जनित्वं जारः कनीनां पतिर्जनीनाम् ।
R. V. I. 66. 4.

‡ कनीनां कन्यानां जारो जरयिता विवाह समये अग्नौ लाजादिहोमे सति तासां कन्यात्वं निवर्तते अतो जरयिते त्युच्यते ।
Sayana 's Com. on R V. I. 66. 4.

§ (यमौ) नियन्ता अर्थात गृहस्थी चलाने वाले ।
Swami Dayananda's Com. on R. V. VI. 57. 2.

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one who feels aversion to the indulgences of married life and practises rules of continence and self-restraint,* be borne in mind. According to Panini the name Yami may be given to the wife of Yama, a person qualified as above, even if she may not herself evince the same bent.† Yami is to be called Yami because she is the wife of Yama, not necessarily because she is herself going to renounce household indulgences. In our hymn she shows no propensity towards renunciation or why should she be *Vishurupa*, of divergent tendencies?

Yama then is the husband of Yami. The dialogue in the hymn takes place when he is taking the orders of Sanyas, and Yami, as she has no offspring, asks him to remain with her.

The insistence in her appeal on the religious obligation on him to raise progeny is so cunningly intertwined with an insidious temptation to sexual pleasure that the hymn appears to a student of psychology, a fine poetic composition which reveals deep insight into the intricate workings of the normally constituted human mind. The composure of Yama is quite in keeping with his new humanitarian resolve. Were the request made to him for incest, he should naturally have been ruffled, That his wife has not risen to his high level pains him a little and he does administer a mild rebuke,‡ but he is conscious that the desire she is feeling is only human. He therefore points the way to Niyoga, the alternative for absolute continence, permitted by the Shastras. The ease with which he asks his quondom wife to resort to another husband shows that he has risen above both sexual attachment and jealousy.

Before beginning our exposition of the hymn, we shall consider in brief a few more hypotheses suggested by scholars as regards the identity of Yama and Yami.

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* गृहाश्रमजन्य विषय सेवनादुपरताय यमनियमादि युक्ताय ।
Swami Dayananda's Com. on Y. V. 7. 47.

† पुंयोगादाख्यायाम् । Ashtadhyayi 4. 1. 48.

‡ न ते सखा सख्यं वष्ट्येतत्सलक्ष्मा यद्विषुरूपा भवाति । R. V. X 10.2.

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Professor Macdonell in his Vedic Mythology (p. 173) refers to them as 'the primeval twins that produced the human race.' Max Muller has already refuted this suggestion in his Science of Language Vol. II. (p. 642) where he writes:—'It must be observed that there is not a single word in the Rig Veda pointing to Yama and Yami as the first couple of mortals.' If the supposition of Professor Macdonell were correct, the human race could not have proceeded beyond the first pair, as in the hymn which we are considering Yama refuses to beget children. Macdonell (p. 173) considers this hymn to be an 'attempt to clear Yama of the guilt of incest .. ..' The attempt to him 'shows that the belief in that incest already existed.' This whole statement is unwarranted; the Professor adduces no evidence in support of it. At another page (126) of the same book the learned Professor has :—"Yami further speaks of Yama as the 'only mortal!' The Professor bases this conception of his on a passage in verse 3. of our hymn, which, according to Wilson means :—'Which is forbidden to every mortal.'* We translate it as :—'(This marital relation which Yami solicits is) to be avoided only by him who means to perish (i. e. will end the line of his pedigree with himself).' We shall discuss the various renderings of this piece in our exposition. The difference between our rendering and the Professor's is that between 'only one who will (means to) die' and 'the only mortal.' The reader will see that both are verbal translations, but in the import they convey of the verse there is a world of difference. The Professor in his interpretation makes an assumption for which there is no basis in literature. The passage, too as rendered by him becomes devoid of all sense, while our exposition fits it in with the context and makes the hymn an interesting reading.

By some Yama and Yami have been considered to represent day and night. Professor Max Muller stands at the head of this ~~party~~ School. In his Science of Language (Vol.II p. 630)

* एकस्य चिद्यजसं मर्त्यस्य । R. V. X. 10. 3.

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the learned savant says :—There is a curious dialogue between her (Yami) and her brother, where she (the night) implores her brother (the day) to make her his wife, and where he declines the offer.' The dialogue appears to us to be too realistic to admit of such metaphorical interpretation. The imploration of Yami is carried through the whole hymn and is characterised with an earnestness which can be found only in actual longing. The art of the Poet would seem to be lavished in vain if the utterer of such a passionate appeal were an inanimate being personified. There would beno poetry in 'we find in thee no heart or head'* if addressed to the day instead of to a real beloved with human mentality. Personification in poetry has to be kept within limits to be effective ; it will destroy the art of the Vedic Poet to construe the pathetic dialogue between Yama and Yami as an imaginary discourse between the phenomenal offsprings of the Sun. This, in our opinion, is too great a concession to mythology, which arose, as we have shown, without basis, but to which some of the modern interpreters are bent on giving a reasonable setting in imaginary personification of natural phenomena. The setting, alas ! is too reasonable for the myth. It makes the poem a dead piece instead of the living human repartee of which the hymn, in its natural wording presents a vivid life-like picture. To the psychologist, as we have said, the poem, as it stands, in its naiveness, affords a profound humanistic study.

We may not notice at length the mythological fancy of Sayana evidenced in his identifying the hero of this hymn with the famous Deity of Death, who, too, is in the Hindu pantheon named Yama. In his explanation of verse 6. he characterises Yama 'as punishing and favouring beings human and other by sending them to hell and heaven respectively.'† This explanation is quite uncalled for. The word *Ahanah* which has been

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* न ते मनो हृदयं चाविदाम । R. V. X. 10. 13.

† आहनः आहन्ता मर्माद्या हिंसितः..... मनुष्यादि प्राणिनां नरकपातेन स्वर्ग प्रापणेन निग्रहानुग्रहयोः कर्तः । Sayana's Com. on R. V. X. 10. 6.

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Sayana's stumbling block in verse 6. occurs again in verse 8, where Sayana takes it as qualifying Yami† who, even to him, does not personate death. Here too it may be similarly explained without implying the idea of death. The function of Yama to the mind of Yami is procreation, not destruction. In the whole hymn there is not the least evidence of Yama representing death. To Yami he is life, though he may not himself consent to personate that function, in the way Yami envisages it.

After this lengthy dissertation we do not think there is any necessity of our repeating what our conclusion as regards the relation between Yama and Yami is. The reader may now proceed with the exposition of the hymn and in the light of the text read our observations regarding Yama and Yami again. Any obscurity that may have remained after his first perusal of this lengthy introduction will then be cleared.

We are with modern scholars in assigning alternate verses to each of the interlocutors. This division is natural and is supported by the tone of the text. Katyayana in his Sarvanukramani puts verses 1, 3, 5—7, 11, 13 in the mouth of Yami and the rest in the mouth of Yama.† He calls Yama and Yami *Vaivasvata.*‡ In this he appears to follow the tradition of Vrihaddevata, for which, as we have shown, there is no foundation either in the Vedas or in the Brahmanas.

For our rendering of the Sukta we claim no finality. We shall amend it in the light of criticism received, and acknowledge our cordial gratitude to scholars who help us in solving the puzzle of the hoary hymn.

GURUDATTA BHAWAN,
LAHORE. } CHAMUPATI.

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* हे आहन: समापहंत्रि असह्यभाषणेन दु:खयित्रि । Sayana's Com. on R. V.X. 10. 8.

† षष्ठ्ययुग्भिर्यमी मिथुनार्थं यमं प्रोवाच स तां नवमीयुग्भिरनिच्छन् प्रत्याचष्टे । Katyayana's Sarvanakramani.

‡ वैवस्वतयोर्यम यम्योः संवादः । Ibid.

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EXPOSITION.

YAMI.

ओचित् सखायं सख्या ववृत्यां तिरः पुरूचिदर्णवं जगन्वान्,
पितुर्नपातमाददीत वेधा अधिक्षमि प्रतरं दीध्यानः ॥ १ ॥

(My) consort as consort let me approach.* To cross the wide ocean (of moraliry)†, his father's line‡ may he continue, the wise one, in this life looking far (into the future)§.

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* Consort is the literal translation of *Sakha*. Wilson and Griffith render it as 'friend.' During marriage the husband says to his wife :—**सखे सप्तपदी भव** Take the seventh step to be 'consort.'

† Sayana takes the ocean to signify an island whither Yami asks Yama to resort, to conceal the incest to which, according to Sayana, she actuates him,

संभोगोचितान्तर्हित प्रदेश प्रदर्शन पूर्वकं तत्संभोगमाशास्ते.....
अत्र समुद्रशब्देन तन्मध्यवर्ती द्वीपो वा लक्षयितव्यः ।

Sayana's commentary on A. V. XVIII. 1. 1.

Griffith has:—So may the sage come through the air's wide ocean. Wilson ;—Having coming over the vast and great ocean.

The absurdity of these translations is apparent. Sayana and Wilson should not deny the existence of a ship in the possession of Yami, which she, according presumably to the practice of her time, could use to gratify her immoral passion. How cheap was navigation in those days !

In Indian laguages 'the ocean of morality' (bhava sagara) is a common expression. Verse 3 will show how immortality of a kind could, according to the Aryan conception, be gained by procreating good progeny. Yami insists on that immortality in verse 3. Our rendering of this verse is in keeping with it.

‡ The literal meaning of *Napat*, is 'one who will not let (the line) fail, *i. e.* son or grandson.' An alternate rendering may be—'His father's grandson may he beget.'

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YAMA.

न ते सखा सख्यं वष्ट्येतत्सलक्ष्मा यद्विषुरूपा भवति ।
महस्पुत्रासो असुरस्य वीरा दिवो धर्मार उर्विया परिख्यन् ॥ २ ॥

Not to thy consort is this consortship dear, that (she who was) one in aims should become of divergent bent.* The greatest sons are Heaven's heroes. These with light endowed have a broad outlook.†

YAMI.

उशन्ति घा ते अमृतास एतदेकस्य चित्त्यजसं मर्त्यस्य ।
नि ते मनो मनसि धाय्यस्मेः‡ जन्युः पतिस्तन्वमाविविश्याः ॥ ३ ॥

Dear to those who will not die is this (consortship). Of only one is it avoided, *viz*, of him who means to

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Continued from the last page.

§ Wilson, following Sayana, renders *prataram* as 'endowed with excellent qualities.' He makes it adjective of *napatam*. Griffith has :—"Remembering the earth and the days to follow.'

* For a detailed discussion of this passage see page 79.

† Other commentators make one sentence of these two passages. With them 'heroes' is an adjunct of 'sons of Heaven,' which term to them signifies 'the spies of God.' (Griffith) The idea of incest, with which they are already prepossessed, makes them see Yama pointing the infallible watch kept by God over the doings of humanity, which circumstance, says he, should prevent Yami from making that immoral proposal. The real meaning is that asked for progeny to continue his line, Yama replies that to those who have a broad outlook, the enlightened ones, the heroes of God are the greatest progeny. They preserve the race. 'My son,' 'thy son,' 'his son,' 'her son,' are expressions that symbolise a selfish conception of parenthood,

‡ Is not the vow made in the nuptial ceremony—
मम व्रते ते हृदयं दधामि ममचित्तमनुचित्तं ते अस्तु। पार० कां० २। कं० २।
a literal translation of this piece ?

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perish.* May thy mind with my mind coincide. Husband, eager to beget†, into my person seek entry.‡

YAMA.

न यत् पुरा चकृमा कद्ध नूनमृतं वदन्तो अनृतं रपेम ।
गन्धर्वो अप्स्वप्या च योषा सानो नाभिः परमं जामि तन्नौ ॥ ४ ॥

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* Wilson following Sayana's commentary on Rig Veda has :—'The immortals take pleasure in (a union) like this which is forbidden to every mortal.' *Ekasya* remains superfluous in this translation. Sayana adds :—

एकस्यचित् सर्वस्य जगतो मुख्यस्यापि प्रजापत्यादेः स्वदुहितृ भगिन्यादिना संबन्धोस्तीतिशेषः ।

'Of one, *i.e.* the principal (deity) of the universe, *i.e.* Prajapati etc. there has come down the tradition of illegal union with daughters and sisters, etc.' The reader will see to what straits Sayana has been put to find the desire of incest in these lines. In his commentary on A. V. Sayana has :—

अमृता देवाः.....एकस्य असाधारणस्य मर्त्यस्य मनुष्यस्य पुत्रस्य त्यजसं त्यागं गर्भान्निर्गमनं उत्पत्तिं उशन्ति ।

'The immortals long for the exit (out of the womb) *i,e.* birth of a son of thee, an extraordinary mortal.' *Tyajasam* has been here rendered as exit (out of the womb) *i.e.* birth. Could rendering be more far-fetched?

† Here again Sayana and Wilson give free play to their mythological fancy. *Janyu* to them means Prajapati. He outraged his daughter. So should Yama lie with his sister.

‡ According to the Aryan conception the husband procreates himself in the shape of his son. It is he who is reared in the wife's womb. Says Manu:—

पतिर्भार्यां प्रविश्य गर्भो भूत्वेह जायते ।
जायायास्तद्धि जायात्वं यदस्यां जायते पुनः । मनु ९ . ८.

'The husband enters into his wife. There he becomes embryo and is then reborn. The wife is called *jaya*, because he is again born of her.'

The son thus is a replica of the husband. By this the reader may understand how immortality is gained by consortship.

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Not what we did before shall we do now. Having evoked law shall we talk guilt? The husband fulfils himself in *Yajna*, so does wife.* That is our axle,† that our supreme procreation.‡§

YAMI.

गर्भेनुनौ जनिता दम्पती कर्देवस्त्वष्टा सविता विश्वरूपः।
नकिरस्य प्रमिनन्ति व्रतानि वेद नावस्य पृथिवी उत द्यौः ॥ ५ ॥

In the womb‖ did the divine Father make us husband and wife—the Designer, Ordainer, Fashioner of all forms. None do His ordinances violate. He knows of us—this (Yami) is wife, this (Yama) is husband.¶

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* Yama's answer in verse 2 is repeated with only a variety of expression in this verse. The purpose of marriage is Yajna, *i.e.* activity which will benefit the universe. With that object in view is progeny procreated. Sanyas too fulfills the same object. When the end is achieved, why quarrel over the means? Sanyas is as good as progeny, both being alternate forms of selfless endeavour.

† Sacrifice is the axle round which the married couple revolve as wheels. Vide page 81. Griffith has :—That is our Bond.

‡ Read * above.

§ For a detailed exposition of the verse and discussion of its different renderings read introduction (p. 81).

Pandit Budhadeva's translation of the verse is :—

Not what.....God in the firmament, and His all-prevading spouse (Nature)—these are our source (parents), that is the prime relation between us.

‖ We have discussed the meaning of this verse in the introduction at p. 77.

¶ Literally this is Earth, this is Firmament In the introduction (p. 84) we have shown that in Vedic symbolism, the pair stand for husband and wife.

Wilson, following Sayana, has :—earth and heaven are conscious of this our (union).

Griffith :—That we are His, the earth and heavens acknowledge.

To us this explanation is equally acceptable.

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YAMA.

को अस्य वेद प्रथमस्याह्नः कईं ददर्श क इह प्रवोचत।
बृहन्मित्रस्य वरुणस्य धाम कदु ब्रव आहनो वीच्या नॄन ॥६॥*

Who knows of the first day?† Who saw it?‡ Who can speak of it now? Great is the realm of the Mitra, the Varuna.§ What speakest thou, passionate woman,‖ beguilingly¶ to men?

YAMI.

यमस्य मा यम्यं काम आगन्त्समाने योनौ सहशेय्याय।
जायेव पत्ये तन्वं रिरिच्यां विचिद्वृहेव रथ्येव चक्रा ॥ ७ ॥

With love of Yama am I, Yami, possessed, in the same bed with him to lie. As wife to (my) husband will I my person offer. Let us work together as in a car the wheels.**

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* Sayana, following Katyayana, puts this verse in the mouth of Yami. On the face of it this stanza is an answer to the last.

† By the first day is meant the day of conception when according to Yami, Yama was ordained, being endowed with similar qualities, to be her spouse.

‡ Sayana pictures Yami as urging that none would see their immorality of the first day. Would progeny sought in the previous verses be not seen also?

§ Mitra and Varuna are the names of God. The former represents His loving attitude, the latter His beloved phase. Among human beings wives are *Mitra*, husbands are *Varuna*. The two attributes remain always at work in the world of the living. How the epithets, as used by husband and wife, are quite appropriate, will be apparent to the reader.

‖ Griffith:—Wanton! Wilson:—Who punishest.

¶ Griffith:—To tempt. Wilson:—with hell. Sayana:—With hell.

** Husband and wife are often likened to wheels which carry the car forward by joint exertion. So do the married couple jointly exercise themselves to perform the duties of

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YAMA.

न तिष्ठन्ति न निमिषन्त्येते देवानां स्पश इह ये चरन्ति ।
अन्येन मदाहनो याहि तूयं तेन विवृह रथ्येव चक्रा ॥ ८ ॥

They neither stop nor wink—the divine wardens* who in this world, go about. To some one other than me, thou passionate one, go. With him work, as in a car the wheels.

YAMI.

रात्रीभिरस्मा अहभिर्दशस्येत् सूर्यस्य चक्षुर्मुहुरुन्मिमीयात् ।
दिवा पृथिव्या मिथुना सबन्धू यमीर्यमस्य विभृयादजामि ॥ ९ ॥

With nights and days may the Sun's eye, again and again opening, teach him.† The earth and the firmament—these are couples‡ that remain united. Will Yami of Yama suffer separation.?§

Continued from the last page.

household life. The analogy is apt. It will also explain why in verse 4 self-sacrifice which is the essence of marriage, was called *nabhis*, literally axle. The married couple revolve round 'sacrifice' which in the marriage ceremony is symbolised by fire.

* The divine wardens are here *sanyasis*. Asked to stay in the house-hold, Yama answers that in the new life he has adopted long stays are forbidden him. His will now be the role of a globe-trotter.

Griffith :—Sentinels of God who wander round us.

Wilson :—The spies of Gods.

† By giving him an instance of inviolate connubial bond.

Sayana introduces 'sacrificer' as subject of the verb here, meaning that he should, day and night, oblate to Yama. This is obviously irrelavent talk. It is not clear how this verse can be put in the mouth of Yama, with *asma* (for him) in it.

‡ Day and night, and earth and firmament.

§ For a detailed discussion of the different renderings of this verse see introduction p. 84.

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YAMA.

आघा ता गच्छानुत्तरा युगानि यत्र जामयः कृणवन्नजामि।
उप बर्बृहि वृषभाय बाहुमन्यमिच्छस्व सुभगे पतिं मत् ॥ १० ॥

Verily there come subsequently (to marriage) times when wives cease to be wives. Extend for a capable mate thy arm. Another seek thou, O fair one, as mate, than me*.

YAMI.

किं भ्राता सद्यदनाथं भवाति किमु स्वसा यन्निर्ऋतिर्निगच्छात्।
काममूता बह्वेतद्रपामि तन्वा मे तन्वं संपिपृग्धि ॥ ११ ॥

What of the husband if he is no guardian? Is she the mover † when sin follows? Overcome by love I so strongly urge. With thy person my person join.‡

Continued from last page.

Griffitth's explanation of this verse is ingenious. Only, it is not campatible with what appears to us to be the response to it contained in the next verse.

Griffith writes :—'The meaning seems to be: if there be any guilt let me take it upon myself and let not Yama's life be shortened by way of punishment.'

* We have already discussed the various renderings of this verse in introduction (pp.84—88). The reader will see that to the question of Yami in verse 9 this verse as rendered above is a natural answer. Yama, quite consistently with his resolve receives the tautings of his wife in calmness.

† For coitus. When the initiative comes from the wife, sexual union in the proper season is a meritorious act.

‡ For a detailed discussion of the meanings of this verse see introduction pp. 87—89. How *bhrata* means 'husband' and *swasa* 'one who moves' is shown there.

Pandit Budhadeva's rendering of the verse would be :—

What is this (becoming) brother, when supportlessness follows. What is this becoming sister when misery ensues ?.....

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YAMA.

न वा उते तन्वा तन्वं संपपृच्यां पापमाहुर्यः स्वसारं निगच्छात् ।
अन्येन मत् प्रमुदः कल्पयस्व न ते भ्राता सुभगे वष्ट्येतत् ॥ १२ ॥

Not with thy person my person will I join. Sinful do they call him (the anchorite) who approaches even according to rules* her (his wife) whose is the initiative.† With another than me thy pleasures fashion. Not to thy husband, O fair one, is this acceptable.

YAMI.

बतो बतासि यम नैव ते मनो हृदयं चाविदाम ।
अन्या किल त्वां कक्ष्येव युक्तं परिष्वजाते लिबुजेव वृक्षम् ॥ १३ ॥

Weak, O weakling of Yama, art thou. Neither in thee head‡ nor heart do we find. Another, as a girdle (binds) a horse, will embrace thee, even as a creeper (winds itself round) a tree.

YAMA.

अन्यमूषु त्वं यम्यन्य उत्वां परिष्वजाते लिबुजेव वृक्षम् ।
तस्य वा त्वं मन इच्छा स वा तवाधा कृणुष्व संविदं सुभद्राम् ॥ १४ ॥

Another do thou, Yami, another may thee embrace, (as winds) a creeper (round) a tree. His mind do thou win and he thine, (with him) make auspicious union.§

N.B.—The end of the dialogue may seem abrupt. On the part of the husband a definite final counsel has been given. Whether the wife acts up to it is not stated. The law as regards Niyoga is permissive. It in no way binds the party that is in need of it. The non-committal of the wife in the hymn is thus significant. It has a deep meaning for the law-giver.

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* निगच्छात् नियमेनोपगच्छति । Sayana's Com. on R. V.

† When the orders are taken, the company even of a longing wife, which otherwise would be valid under rules of *Shastras*, is forbidden.

P. Budhadeva's rendering would be:—
Not with thy person my person will I join. Sinful do they call him who (sexually) approaches (his) sister.....

‡ Literally mind.

§ Yama means that the union may be fruitful, this being the object of Niyoga.

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A PRAYER.

PROF. TARA CHAND D. GAJRA M. A..

प्रातरग्निं प्रातरिन्द्रं हवामहे प्रातर्मित्रावरुणा प्रातरश्विना ।
प्राभगं पूषणं ब्रह्मणस्पतिं प्रातः सोममुत रुद्रं हुवेम ॥ १ ॥

Early morning as we rise, we pray unto you, our Lord ; You who are *Agni*, the Light and Life of the world ; the Source of knowledge and Guide of us all ; You that impart motion to the whole nature, You the Original Fountain of all activity. Lord : You inhabit the world, even as the human soul inhabits this body. *Indra* is this soul of ours called. *Indra* are you : The soul is the master and controller of the *Indriyas*, of the various senses and organs; You are the master of the organs of the Universe. What my eye is to me, so is the Sun to You; the part that my lungs play in this tiny body, the same Your atmospheric envelop plays on this earth. My feet are so tiny ; they carry only this little weight ; but this earth is only a tiny part of Your feet. O Lord ! how may I contemplate the vastness of the space You occupy. Lord ! this *Indra* of mine is subtle, so hard to think of. 1 study my external movements, I watch the physiologica! functions, I pass on to the psychological changes, yet I fail to grasp this I*ndra* of mine. From the self I move to the non-self ; I leave the subjective study and try to seek *Indra* in the external objects. From physical, I go to the chemical, I make categories of the molecules, of the atoms, but still the *Indra* is not grasped. I pass on to ionization, to the corpuscles, still the all-pervading *Indra* the subtlest form of matter, the *Vidyut* of the Vedic Rishis eludes my grasp. When the physical is so subtle, how much more subtle must You be, my God!

The *Upanishadkar* speaks of You as the Subtlest of the subtle, the Atom of the atom ; and is this not so ? Oh where is not life ? How the tiniest

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creatures discharge their organic functions, the same way even as this human body does. And who guides them all, O Lord? All these creatures who cannot be seen even by the strongest microscope that we have invented? It is you, O Indra! You, the smallest of the small and yet the largest of the large, greatest of the great! You who are sought by many in the Sun, because amongst the members of *Brahmana* he is the biggest, the most dignified and most glorious. He is bigger than Jupiter, bigger than Neptune; so big indeed that this whole earth of ours is only an insignificant part of the Sun. Indeed, thirteen lacs and fifty thousands of such earths would form this sun. But Lord! what is this sun, this whole solar system,—in relation to the most wonderful creation of Yours? In what direction the sun is running along with his children we know not. How far he has travelled and how long he will take to reach his destination, we shall not live to know, Then what of the other Universes? Universes in which at once shine two or three suns of different lights, much bigger and much more glorious than our sun. How many of these are daily forming and dissolving in that great and wonderful band of light—the galaxy—the *Akasha ganga* You, Lord! are the master of all these. Indeed.

O Lord! Great as you are, great is your mercy. You are our Friend. You our Purifier. You are the Measurer of our virtue, our capacity. You the Destroyer of our Sins, You the Breath of our breath and the Ruler of our inner selves,

You, Lord! are the Creator of the Principle of duality in nature. The Sun and the Moon, the day and the night, the man and the woman. Oh how wonderfully,

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how wisely and beneficially are the Pairs formed! They all speak of Your wisdom !

Oh Lord, oh Master ! to You is all glory due and from You proceeds all glory, all happiness, all joy. They that know You, realize You—are never miserable, never pessimistic. From their fireheads shines forth the joy Divine. How beautifully has the *upanishadkar* brought this idea home to our minds through that beautiful little story of Satyakama Jabala. How by degrees he comes to realize Your presence and potency in all beings and how by degrees he becomes more and more happy.

Joy is Yours and power, too, Yours, O God : yes Yours indeed. We, in ignorance, feel that we make and unmake the things, that with our power, our wisdom, we move the world. How false this notion O Lord ! Does not history show that ? Is not Your Powerful Finger seen in all historical events ? How many chapters of history hang on almost mysterious, insignificant events as it were. Is the falling of a brick a big thing, O Lord ? How often bricks fall. But what has not the fall of that brick which killed Ranjit's wise and promising boy done to change the course of Indian history.

Is a short nap a very big thing ? How often do we enjoy the snaps of sleep. But what did it cost Napoleon to sleep the night before going to Quarter Brass and after defeating Grouchy ? Is the death of one individual a great thing ? How many men die daily, nay hourly. But what about the death of that best of Maharashtra Prince Madhva Rao the fourth Peshva ? Had he lived a little longer, could not the Marhattas have become the masters of India, could they not have checked effectively the advancing westerners ? And yet did You not

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spare him, O Lord ! For you wanted to make history run some other course. Indeed all Power is Yours.

Is this not proved in another way also ? Do they not become Powerful. who seek Your shelter Lord ? Do not they even defy death ? Yes, they do. This old truth was modernly proved by the Rishi whose centenary we have just celebrated.

Lord ! you are the Master of the Veda—of all knowledge. You are inspirer of us all. Were it not so, how could our small minds, our limited intellects, think of the Beyond, of the Limitless, of the Infinite!

O Soma ! O Doctor Divine ! O Source of joy ! O Ruler ! O Law-giver stern ! O *Rudhra Bhagwan* ! far and wide have I wandered to feel Your presence, to realize a bit of your Power. I humbly pray to be led to the Dharma—to the path of Rectitude.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Mr. Mahesh Chandra Ghosh, M. A.

The Lord's Prayer is found in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. VI. 9-13) and also in Luke (xi, 2-4) in a shorter form.

The Lord's Prayer in Matthew is quoted below :—

Invocation.—Our Father which art in Heaven,

Petitions—(1) Hallowed be thy name (2) Thy kingdom come (3) Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth. (4) Give us to-day our bread for to-morrow (5) And forgive us our debts as we also have forgiven our debtors (6) And lead us not into temptation ; (7) but deliver us from the evil one.

Doxology—For thine is the Kingdom, the Power, and the Glory. Amen.

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The Lord's Prayer in Luke.

Invocation.—Father,

Petitions.—(1) Hallowed be thy name. (2) Thy Kingdom come (R. V.) (3) Give us day by day our bread for the coming day. (4) And forgive us our sins for we ourselves forgive every one that is indebted to us. (5) And bring us not into temptation (R. V).

THE OCCASION AND OBJECT.

In Matthew the Lord's Prayer forms a part of the Sermon on the Mount. The same Sermon is found in a modified form in Luke, though it is there a Sermon on the Plain and the Lord's Prayer does not form a part of it.

"The primary object of the prayer, as it occurs in St. Matthew, is.....to furnish an example of a prayer at once short, concise, and void of repetitions" (Tholuck's Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount p. 319).

Jesus said to his disciples that at the time of praying the heathen used vain repetitions but they must not follow their example (Mtt. VI. 7--8).

But in Luke, the prayer was taught on another occasion. One of his disciples once said to him—"Lord, teach us to pray, as John also taught his disciples." Thereupon he taught them how to pray (Luke, xi, 1-2).

Matthew or Luke?

Now which is original, or more original?

(*a*)

Very few competent critics now support the claim of Matthew. Among the defenders are found the names of Tholuck, Keim, Bischoff and a few more. But Luke is considered more original and ancient by Schleiermacher, Sieffirt, Baumgartin—Crusius, Neander, Olhausen, de Wette, Ewald, Bleek, Holtzmann, Weiss, Weizsacher, Schenkel, Hanne, Kamphausen (*vide* Meyer's Commen-

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tary on Matthew. p. 204), as well as by Meyer, Ebrard Pfleiderer, Dummelow, Wright and many others.

(*b*)

Matthew's version is different from Luke's. How is it to be accounted for ? Nestle says—

"Modern exegesis finds in this difference a proof of twofold tradition and is on the whole inclined to see in the place, to which Luke refers the prayer, the better tradition, and the 'Sermon on the Mount' having received a later insertion. See *e.g.* Arthur Wright (*Some N. T. Problems, 26 ; The Composition of the Four Gospels, 75)* who insists that in Mtt. it breaks the parallelism of the context ; and Geo. Heinrice." (Encyclo. Biblica : Col. 2817).

That the Lord's Prayer was interpolated into the Sermon on the Mount has been satisfactorily proved by Pfleiderer and many other scholars. (*vide infra.*)

PUBLIC PRAYER

Whatever might have been his practice, Jesus publicly discouraged public prayer. Friedlauder says—

"If Jesus said in the Sermon on the Mount anything new, it was that the old Jewish public worship should cease and be replaced by private devotions in one's inner chamber" (The Jewish Sources of the Sermon on the Mount p. 111).

Jesus said that the hypocrites prayed standing in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets and he asked his followers not to follow their example. Addressing them he said :—

"But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father, which is in secret."—(Mtt. VI. 6),

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Was the Lord's Prayer of Jesus ?

But did he really teach them the prayer known as the Lord's Prayer.? It is more than doubtful.

(*a*)

When a man prays alone to the Alone, he naturally addresses God as "*my* Father" or "*my* God"—Jesus himself actually did that. At Gethsemane he prayed

(*i*) O *my* (Greek *mou*) Father.... ....let this cup pass from me (Mtt. 26-39).

(*ii*) "O *my* (*mou*) Father.....thy will be done (Mtt. 26-42).

While on the cross, he prayed by saying—

"My (*mou*) God, my (*mou*) God, Why hast thou forsaken me ? (Mtt. 27-46 ; Mk. 15-34).

The *Singular* number is generally used in private prayers and the *Plural* number in congregational prayer.

The Lord's Prayer uses the plural *e.g. our* Father, *us*, *our* bread, *our* debts, *our* debtors (Mtt. VI 6-13 ; same in Luke). This means that the Lord's Prayer is a form of congregational prayer, and it was not meant to be used as private prayer.

(*b*).

Abrahams cites very interesting examples. He writes.

"The Talmudic early morning prayer—"May it be thy will, O Lord *my* God and God of *my* fathers" (Berb 60b) becomes in the liturgy—"O Lord *our* God and God of *our* fathers."

Even more obvious is this change in regard to Jeremiah XVII. 4.

"Heal *me*, O Lord and *I* shall be healed ; Save *me* and *I* shall be saved : for thou art *my* praise." In the liturgy this becomes : "Heal *us*, O Lord and *we* shall

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be healed; save *us* and *we* shall be saved; for thou art *our* praise." (Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels. Second Series p. 104).

(*c*).

In solitary prayer we sometimes use the plural; it is not always possible to do so. Let us take the fifth petition—"Forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors." A man can say to God—"Forgive *us our* debts'; but he can never say—"as *we* have forgiven *our* debtors." How can he know whether other persons also have forgiven their debtors?

(*d*)

Jesus could not have taught them the second petition (Thy Kingdom come). Did he not himself say that the Kingdom was already there in their midst (Luke 17-21 if this verse be not considered as an interpolation as Pfleiderer thinks)? *Vide* also Mtt. XI 12; XII 28; XVI 19; Mk. XII 34; Luke XVI 16. Did he not himself behold Satan fallen as lightning from heaven (Luke 10. 18)? Did he not thank God for revealing to babes those things which he hid from 'the wise and understanding' (Lk. 10. 21)? Did he not congratulate his disciples on their seeing what many prophets and kings desired to see but could not see (Lk. 10. 23, 24)? What they saw, was the Kingdom of God. When the Kingdom of God was already present, why should he ask his followers to pray for its coming in future?

(*e*).

His followers had no house, no land, no property; they left everything when they became his followers. So they could not have any debtors. How could they then say every day to God "as we forgive (or have forgiven) our debtors"? The fifth petition must have been intro-

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duced by the Church when Christians had land and property and used to lend money.

(*f*)

The Lord's Prayer is a congregational form of prayer. But Jesus formed no congregation, requiring such a liturgy. Neither did he nor his followers break away from Judaism; they used to observe the Jewish custom of worshipping God; they frequented the synagogues for preaching and praying. Even after the death of Jesus his disciples steadfastly continued day after day to resort to the temple at the hour of prayer (Acts ii, 46).

When there was no separate congregation, there was no necessity of a congregational form of prayer like the Lord's Prayer. And the Lord's Prayer could not have been, and cannot now be, used in solitary prayer. So there was no need for such a prayer at the time of Jesus—neither as liturgy nor as private prayer.

Hence our conclusion is that the so-called Lord's Prayer was not the Lord's.

Many eminent scholars also have arrived at the same conclusion.

(*a*)

"Friedlauder says:—

"Johaness Weiss in his Commentary on Mtt. VI. 9 adds that the Lord's Prayer in Matthew is a "*liturgical piece of the established Christian community.*" He thinks that as Matthew is writing for a Jewish-Christian flock, he naturally uses such prayer as resembles Jewish prayers" (Jewish Sources of the Sermon on the Mount. p. 124).

(*b*).

J. Estlin Carpenter says—"So, also, in the regulation for pious observance, for alms and *prayers* and fasting as a kind of religious duty or sacred service, each

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in turn confirmed by the Rhythmic promise "thy Father which seeth in secret shall recompense thee" Mtt. VI. 1-18, we hear *the voice of later ecclesiastical usage (Italics* ours). The First Three Gospels p. 52.

(*c*).

"Bruno Bauer held that the more elaborate form in which the Lord's prayer occurs in St. Matthew is a proof that this prayer *grew up in degrees in the church* 'out of the simple and general religious categories which had been handed down to the church along with the Old Testament.' The petition—"Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors," he holds to have arisen solely from the development of the *Christian* consciousness" (Tholuck's Commmentary on the Sermon on the Mount p. 315).

(*d*)

Chase and Plummer.

In his commentary on Luke (p. 294) Plummer writes :—

"Both the Evangelists must have had the Prayer in Greek. F. H. Chase supposes that the disciples adapted the Prayer for use on special occasions either by alterations or additions and that *both* forms exhibit the Prayer as changed for *liturgical* purposes (Texts and Studies Vol. I. No. 3 Cam. 1891)."

(*e*).

Moulton.

Moulton makes a very significant remark :—

"As in the Lord's Prayer, so in the ancient liturgies, the aorist imperative is almost exclusively used" (Gram. N. T. Vol. i, p. 173).

So the Lord's Prayer and the liturgies belong to the same class.

(*f*).

PFLEIDERER.

Pfleiderer says :—

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"Obviously Matt. vi is an interpolation in the framework of the original discourse as preserved by Luke." (Primitive Christianity Vol. II. 326).

In another place he writes :—

"The prayer which Jesus taught is simpler in the Lucan than in the Matthæn version. The introduction is formed by the simpler address to God 'Father' which Jesus himself doubtless used in his own prayers. Then follow the five petitions—"Hallowed be thy name; Thy Kingdom come; give us daily our sufficient bread; and forgive us our sins as we ourselves forgive every one that trespasses against us; and lead us not into temptation." Matthew has *extended* the invocation *by adding* to 'Father' his customary description of God as He who is in heaven; to the second petition he *adds* the explanatory *interpolation* "Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth," which does not really contain anything which is not already stated in the preceding petition; finally the last petition, for preservation from temptation, is also *reinforced* by a formula which is strictly speaking, only a paraphrase of it, "but deliver us from the evil one," *i.e.* from the devil who is thought of as the immediate agent in temptation. The conclusion, too, in Matt. is not genuine, but *interpolated from the church liturgy into the later manuscripts*" (*Italics* ours).

Luke's genuineness doubtful.

"That the simpler Lucan form is also the more original is not open to doubt, but it cannot be quite so certainly determined whether it consists of the accurate tradition of a prayer taught by Jesus just in this form and withthis definite object or only of a collection of forms of petitions which the disciples had often heard Jesus use

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and therefore adopted in imitation of His example an which only gradually attained fixity in the usage of th community."

'*Very doubtful.*'

"The absence of this prayer or allusion to it i Mark, Paul or the Apocalypse makes it *very doubtfu* whether it can have been the standing formula of praye in the Apostolic community."

Not taught by Jesus.

"The difference, too, between Matthew and Luk points back to an uncertain and fluctuating traditio which could hardly be explained, if the prayer had bee taught as a whole by Jesus himself."

"*Attributed to Jesus.*"

"If we further take into account the fact that var ous similar formulæ (especially in the case of the firs and second petition) occur in the prayers of the synago gues, the *possibility cannot be denied that this prayer* based upon reminiscences of the communion of the dis ciples with Jesus, gradually attained in the usage of th community a more or less fixed form which had gathered sacred associations about it, *had been attributed* to Jesus. (Ibid, pp. 147-149). *Italics* ours.

From these we are led to conclude—

(*i*) What is called the Lord's Prayer is really congregational prayer and therefore can never have bee the private prayer which Jesus exhorted his follower to adopt.

(*ii*) It was developed by the Church which embodie in it what it thought to be the spirit of Jesus.

THE SOURCE.

Now what was the source of the Lord's Prayer Different answers have been given to this question.

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(*i*) According to Dr. Erich Bischoff and an orthodox section of the Christian Community, all the sayings of Jesus were quite original and Jesus owed nothing to his Rabbinical contemporaries or predecessors.

It is needless to mention that this position is quite untenable.

(*ii*) According to Herder, Richter, Rhode, and Seyffarth, the Lord's Prayer was derived from the Zend-Avesta. (Tholuck: Comm. Sermon on the Mount p. 323).

It is an exploded theory.

(*iii*) According to Wetstein, Auguste and Moeller it is altogether derived from the Jewish prayers. (Keim. Jesus. III. 337 Moeller advanced the hypothesis that each petition of the Lord's Prayer gives the biginning of Jewish prayers then in use (Keim. III. 336: Tholuck. 321).

This is true only in part.

(*iv*) The most reasonable theory is that of the Encyclopædia Biblica which says :—

"The truth is that we say of the Lord's Prayer applying what Theodore Zahn lately wrote of the teachings of Jesus as a whole—that Jesus uttered things which were said almost literally by Jewish teachers before and after him (Eb. Nestle. Column 2821).

Friedlauder says "This is an exceedingly fair statement and is free from the bias so often manifested in theological writings." (The Jewish Sources : P. 128).

Nestle's statement may be substantiated by quoting passages from pre-Christian literature of the Jews.

INVOCATION.

Our Father, which art in heaven.

Tholuck says :—In Israel the relation of God as the Father of the nation.....was recognised. Compare.

(1) Deut. XXXII. 6.

(2) Isa. LXIII. 16 ; LXIV.

(3) Jer. III. 4, 19.

(4) Mal. I. 6 ; II. 10.

He was the "Father" of the people.....It is doubtful if the words "my Father" Job XXXIV. 36

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express the *individual* relation. In Ps. LXXXIX. 26, " He shall cry unto me—Thou art my Father" the name is a special distinction. The same childlike national feeling we find also in Apocrypha, Tobit XIII ; 3 Mac. VI. 3, 8; but here the *individual* feeling already begins to develop itself; Wisdom II. 16; Sirach XXIII. 1. 4. (Comm. Sermon on the Mt. p 329).

Allen says—

As early as the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus we find Israelites addressing God as " Father"; *cf.* Wisdom II. 16 ; XIV. 3 ; Eccles 23. 1. 4—" O Lord Father and Master of my life".

.....The term " Father in heaven " is not infrequent in the Rabbinical literature; *cf. Mechilta* (*Ugol*) 397. " My Father who is in heaven " ; 331 : " their Father who is in heaven" ; *Aboth* 5. 22." Jehuda ben Tema Said, Be .....strong as a lion to do the will of thy Father who is in heaven ; *Sotah*, IX. 15 (49 b) ; " upon whom shall we ban ? Our Father who is in heaven" ; *Rosh ha*—Shana, III. 8 ....."their Father who is in heaven ". (Comm. Mtt. p. 44).

In these passages God is considered to be the Father of the individual and the Father of all.

The idea is pre-Christian ; it was current in Palestine at the time of Jesus and at the time of the composition of the Gospels.

Rabbi Eliezer spoke of " *our* Father in heaven " before the Gospels were written (Friedlauder. p. 31).

The entire phrase " our Father which art in heaven " also occurs in the Jewish liturgy. See Achelis, Bergpredigt, p. 229 and Lightfoot p 170 ; for " Your Father who is in heaven," see Kaddish (Authorised Daily Prayer Book p. 76). Lightfoot truly remarks 'This epithet of God ('The Father who is in heaven') was very well-known among the Jews and very usual with them... .....They were thoroughly instructed from their cradles to call God " Father in Heaven " (Friedlauder : pp. 133—134).

The subject has been thoroughly discussed by Dalman and his conclusion is that the idea that God is our Father in heaven is quite Jewish and that the

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Jewish God is Father not only to the nation but also to the individual (The words of Jesus : pp. 184—194).

(1) *Hallowed be thy name.*

The best Jewish parallel to the first petition is the opening sentence of the Kaddisch—" Magnified and hallowed be his great name in the world" (Ency. Biblica: Col, 2822 ; Allen : Mtt. p. 60 ; Plummer : Mtt. 104)

The Ency. Biblica further says—" Afterwards eight more verbs are placed—together referring to the name of holiness—blessed and praised, and beautified, and extolled, and elevated and glorified, and lifted up—be the name of holiness, blessed be he " (Col. 2822.)

About the antiquity of Kaddisch, Meyer says that it " had been in regular use since the captivity" (Comm. Mtt. Vol. I. 206).

Another parallel is " Holy and Reverend is his name" Ps. CXI. 9.

Thy Kingdom come.

Friedlauder says :—

" A parallel is furnished again by the Kaddisch—

' May He establish His Kingdom ' (Prayer Book page 74). In the eleventh benediction of the Shemoneh Esreh. We find a further parallel:

' And reign over us Thou alone.'

It has often been pointed out that according to Rabbinic teaching, ' every benediction to be valid must contain not only the name of God, but must refer also to God's Kingdom " (The Jewish Sources p. 137). Vide also the Ency. Biblica Col. 2822.

(3) *Thy will be done as in Heaven, so on earth.*

The best parallel is—" Whatsoever the Lord pleased that hath been done in Heaven and earth Ps. CXXXV-6.

The following is another parallel—

" Do Thy will in Heaven above and give satisfaction to them that fear Thee on earth beneath and do what is good in Thine eyes " (Berachoth 29b and Tosephta Berachoth III. 7).

This was said by Rabbi Eliezer who was a recognised

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Jewish teacher before the destruction of the Temple and the composition of the Gospels (Friedlauder : p. 148).

The Encyclopedia Biblica also quotes the above passage (Berachoth 29 b) as well as the following :—

'May it be Thy will O Lord, our God to make peace in the family above and in the family below (Berachoth 16 b). Ency. Bib. Col 2822.

The following parallel is supplied by Tholuck :—

"The Israelites are angels on earth, the angels hallow God's name in heaven and the Israelites upon earth" (Comm. S. on the Mount, p. 325).

(4) *Give us this day our daily bread.* (R. V.)

(*or bread for to-morrow*).

The following is a good parallel—"May it be thy will, O Lord, our God, to grant to each his sustenance and to every creature sufficient for its needs" (Berachoth 29 b and Tosephta—Berachoth iii 7). Friedlauder p 147.

Another parallel :—

"Blessed be God every day for the daily bread which he giveth us" Talmud. Yom—Tob : p. 16a. Hillel.

We find the following in Proverbs XXX. 8 :—

Give me neither poverty nor riches : feed me with the food that is needful for me."

(5) *Forgive us our debts as we also have forgiven our debtors.* (R. V.)

A parallel is found in Shemoneh Esreh, Sixth Benediction—

"Forgive us, O Our Father for we have sinned, pardon our tresspasses" (Quoted by Friedlauder, p. 155 ; Abrahams, Pharisaeim and the Gospels II. 97).

In the fifth petition a condition of forgiveness is given. Abrahams says :—

"This agrees with the teaching of Sirach where mens pardon of his neighbour seems a precedent to God's pardon of the forgiving man (Pharisaism II. 96 .

The teaching of Sirach, referred to above, is quoted below :—

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"Forgive thy neighbour the hurt that he hath done unto thee, so shall thy sins also be forgiven when thou prayest" Ecclus. XXVIII. 3.

The following passage also conveys the same idea:—

"Who-ever is prompt to forgive, his sins also shall be forgiven him." Talmud, Megilla. fol. 28.

(6) *Lead us not into temptation.*

7. *But deliver us from the evil one*

Friedlauder says—

"This petition is again quite Jewish and occurs in the Hebrew Prayer Book:—'O lead us not into the power of sin ..... or of temptation" p 70 .... Dr. Taylor adds several Talmudic prayers containing the petition 'Deliver us from temptation' The Jewish Sources p. 158.

The Encyclopædia Biblica says—'In the prayer which Rabbi used to-day after the usual prayer according to Berakoth 16b, he mentions,—among the evils from which he desires to be delivered—"And from Satan the Destroyer" (Col. 2823.

DOXOLOGY.

The Encyclopædia Biblica says:—

"All the expressions in the Doxology occur in Jewish prayers" (Column. 2823.

The original source of the doxology is i. Chronicles 29. 11:—'Thine, O God, is the greatness and the power and the glory..... .....and Thine is the kingdom."

'QUITE JEWISH."

'We can now affirm that the Lord's Prayer is quite Jewish in structure' and all its 'phrases and petitions are *borrowed* from Jewish sources? (Friedlauder, p. 125).
'It is not original in its ideas (Montifiore: Synoptic Gospels 536).

"There is not a single idea or expression which cannot be found in pre-Christian literature of Israel (Friedlauder. 163).

J. Jacobs say:—

"The Lord's Prayer is a cinto from the Jewish Amidah being a shortened form of five of the original of the Eighteen Blessings" (Jewish Contributions to Civilization, p. 99.)

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" But Welhausen finds a closer parallel to the Lord's Prayer in the Qaddish than in the Amidah" (Abrahams: Pharisaism and the Gospels. p. 94).

In our next article we shall critically expound the Lord's Prayer.

WORLD OF BOOKS.

India's Cruel Destiny. By Mr. C. N. Zutshi M. R. A. S. Price As. 8.

Mr. C. N. Zutshi has been contributing articles on current topics to some of the most popular journals of the country. A few of his contributions appeared in the Vedic Magazine. He has published them in book form, so that his views can now reach a wider public. The problems tackled are of vital interest, and his method of dealing with them is thought-provoking.

चीर पर टे—*By Pt. Bhimsen Vidyalankar, Editor, Satyawadi—Printed by the Aryan Press, Naya Bazar, Delhi. Price Re.* 1.

This book is a valuable addition to the rapidly growing Hindi literature. Every chapter of the book has its moral, which the author has tried his best to impress on the mind of the reader. He openly professes that his object in writing this book is to inspire young Indians with the brave spirit of the Mahrathas, on which laudable aim we may heartily congratulate him. The author is a nationalist out and out, and the reader finds him and his nationalism conspicuous almost in every page of the book. In his treatment of the subject he has added romance to history, but has taken all possible care not to sacrifice history for the sake of introducing romance.

Mohammedan and European historians have failed, as if of set purpose, to do justice to the Marathas. We do not hold that the Marathas were absolutely free from all defects. But we should not forget that they were rebels out to break down the yoke of Moghal tyranny. In the country of the enemy just like the Moghals, they did not shrink from general looting; but as soon as their right to Chauth or Sirdeshmukhi was admitted they brought peace and security to the land. In their own territory the Marathas exercised absolute tolerance towards other communities. Pt. Bhimsen supports

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strongly this latter view of Mahratha character though he has not tried to refute the opposite view, of which he is satisfied with making a mere mention.

We differ with Pt. Bhimsen where he holds that the Maratha uprise was a purely political movement, not at all a religious one. The ev dence of history is against him. The appeal, for instance, of Samartha Ramadas which re-nerved Shivaji to take up political work when the latter was about to become a Sanyasi, was clearly in the name of both country and religion, and not that of country alone.

We hope in the next edition greater care will be taken in proof-reading.

The book is an inspiring study.

EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS.

PANDIT GURUDATTA.

On 23rd March fell the death anniversary of Pandit Gurudatta. He it was who started the Vedic Magazine in 1880. He was its first editor. His attainments were versatile. His grandfather was the ambassador of the Nawab of Bahawalpur in the court of the Amir of Kabul. From him he inherited an aptitude for Persian which by a little training in the Primary classes gave him a working mastery over that language so that he could in his boyhood dip into the deepest waters of Persian literature. He conceived a fondness for Sanskrit too in his schooldays. And the first book that after his study of the Sanskrit Primer fell into the young boy's hands was the Rig Vedadi Bhashya Bhumika of Swami Dayananda. He forthwith approached the authorities of the Arya Samaj at Multan and challenged them to either arrange for his study of the Ashtadhyayi and the Vedas or accept that the scriptures for which they claimed infallibility were only trash. The alternative proposed appears to us to be an index to his inner nature. In his heart of hearts he was convinced of the intellectual and spiritual worth of the Vedas, an introduction to which by the Rishi of the time he had already read. It was his impatience, an inresistible zeal to read more, which prompted him to the blasphemous insinuation that the Vedas could, if they were not taught him,

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be regarded as trash. The Multan Arya Samaj engaged a Pandit who found it beyond his learning and pedagogic capacity to satisfy the little *Vidyarthi*. The Vidyarthi solved his own puzzles of Grammar and the Vedas, and though the arrangement made by the Samaj was not satisfactory. he did not regard the Vedas as trash. In 1881 he matriculated. It was in this year that he got himself registered in the Arya Samaj as member. In 1883 he under-graduated. He had in the interim founded a Free Debating Club, where profound philosophical questions used to be discussed.

Gurudatta was now passing through that period of his life when the mind of a youngman is yet in a fluid state. The college days are days of mental and spiritual intractability. The supreme authority to a college boy is his own virgin opinion. In those days, if ever, liberty of thought holds an absolut sway over a man's mentality. The age of greatest impressionability is also the age of greatest intractability. Every day and every hour new opinions are borrowed. Every new thought however has during its regime its suzerainty absolute. Pandit Gurudatta's progress in grasping and assimilating ideas and facts was tremendously rapid. Somehow he acquired the notoriety of being an atheist. Those who had the occasion to live close to him bear witness to a strong skeptic disposition in him, which to them was a mark of an intensely inquisitive frame of mind. Gurudatta, even when some thought he was an atheist, continued a staunch Arya Samajist. And when the news was received of Rishi Dayanand's illness at Ajmere, the Arya Samaj at Lahore deputed Lalas Jivan Das and Gurudatta to go and tend him The resources of the Arya Samaj appear to have been very poor at the time so that the choice for an errand of such importance and responsibility could fall on a lad of twenty-two. To Gurudatta the occasion afforded an opportunity of his first and last *darshan* of his beloved Rishi. He saw the *Rishi* dying. Not a word passed between the Master and his devotee, but Gurudatta's whole nature had in the meantime silently taken a turn. When he returned to Lahore, he was evidently a changed man. His former frivolity, his impatience, his skepticism had in an instant left him. The zeal was there, but now it was wedded to seriousness. Somehow the feeling had dawned on

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Gurudatta that the Rishi had by his last glance let his mantle drop on his shoulders. To others the privileges of succession, to Gurudatta were passed the obligations of the Rishi's mission.

In 1885 he graduated and in 1886 he passed his M. A. His subject was Physical Science. The position secured by him in the pass list remains yet a record in the University which no succeeding candidate has yet surpassed. In the meantime Gurudatta had been touring the Punjab attending anniversaries of Arya Samajes. He had been busy reading the scriptures and books on philosophy and religion both eastern and western. For two years he was acting Professor at the Government College where his deep erudition and pedagogic capability met with high and well-merited appreciation. The movement to found a college in memory of Rishi Dayananda had, since the death of the Sage, been launched by the guiding spirits of the Arya Samaj. Gurudatta threw himself heart and soul into the campaign to collect funds for that to him sacred institution. The speeches he delivered on behalf of the cause were recognised as wonderful specimens of erudition and oratory. The D. A. V. College of Pandit Gurudatta's dreams was an institution where *Brahmacharya* would be the dominant factor in the life of the students and ancient *Shastras* the primary study in the curriculum of the academy. He was yet living when under the influence of the University the D A. V. College was given its present shape and character. He expressed strong dissatisfaction with its new aims, and put emphatically on record his disagreement with its then conductors as regards their educational policy. In the short period of six years after he had seen the Rishi he had acquired marvellous mastery of sacred books of Sanskrit. A treatise by him entitled 'The Terminology of the Vedas' was appointed course of Sanskrit for the degree examination at Oxford. His translation of a few of the Upanishads, when after his death copies of it were sent to America on the occasion of the Parliament of Religions held at Chicago in 1896, won such appreciation that an American edition of it was published by some American publisher, of his own accord Gurudatta spoke, for hours in Sanskrit, which feat won him the title 'Pandit' which sticks still to his name. He in his humility styled

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himself Vidyarthi, while those who heard him styled him Pandit. This was true Brahmana spirit which marked Gurudatta throughout his career. To his Ashtadhyayi class came some old men, among them an E. A. C. who had taken leave for the sole object of reading Grammar with Gurudatta. A youngman of only twenty-six attracting pupils of all ages, and making such stir among the populace recalled scenes from the h ary history of Bharat Varsha of the time of Janaka and Yajnavalkya.

The strain on the nerves of Gurudatta had been great. He had tried to compress within three years what normally should have taken a life-time to accomplish. He had amassed a great deal of learning, so that in his time he had well-nigh become an authority on the true meaning of scriptures. But this ceaseless assiduity had cost him his health. During his schooldays Gurudatta had been fond of physical exercise. His physique was strong, but his mental labour had of late been great, so that in 1889 he fell victim to consumption, and finding it impossible even then to rest, succumbed to the dire disease in March 1890. He was advised by doct rs to take meat, which would uphold him in his weakness But the smiling answer of the Vidyarthi was :— Will meat make me immortal ? Will it make me for ever inamenable to death ? If not, why for a chance of saving one's own life, bring about certain death of another?' During the night in which P. Gurudatta died Ish Upanishad had at his request been repeatedly recited to him. His references to incidents in Rishi Dayananda's life had always formed a pathetic portion of his speeches. People had therefore urged him to write a biography of the Swami, which the Pandit had gladly consented to do. When the Pandit was on the point of death somebody asked where his manuscript of the biography was. The Pandit characteristically replied, "I have been trying conscientiously to record the life-account of my Rishi not on paper, not in ink, but in my own day-to-day life It was my ambition to live Dayananda. My body, alas ! has failed me. I lay it down, gladly in the hope that the next vehicle will be more in conformity with the aspirations of the soul."

We have in this note, instead of reviewing the brief meteoric career of Gurudatta generally, referred to incidents in it first because some of these occurrences are

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not noticed in his extant biographies, secondly because a wrong view as regards his religious opinions prior to the *darshan* of Rishi Dayananda, has somehow been allowed to prevail. To us a thread appears to run through the variegated phases of Gurudatta's life. He was a heroic soul, passionately zealous, impatiently inquisitive, conscientious and inordinately sincere and true. He believed in the Vedas and yet in his zeal to be able to read more of them declared his readiness to denounce them as trash. He believed in God and yet in his zeal to understand His nature more thoroughly he argued His existence with himself and others and thus appeared as if he were an atheist. He was born for a mission, and when the last glance of the *Rishi* had pointed the path to one, he had, as it were, almost doubled his age, and become grave and thoughtful like a man of fifty. The inability to at once take the place of the *Rishi* was to him intolerable. He wanted instantly to shake off his physical and mental limitations and at once become a sage. The ambition was great, but in it there was no vestige of self-conceit. He was trying every day of his life to become Dayananda. To that end he learnt Yoga exercises, and when even these could not bridge the mental and spiritual distance between him and his goal he willingly laid down his life. His was the glory of a martyr to his own tyranny. The day of his death was honoured by local colleges and courts being closed for a holiday. The world of letters mourned his loss as the loss of a literary prodigy. The Punjab University was conscious that it had lost its only scholar whose earliest productions had met with recognition at the hands of those who were competent to judge, both in and outside the country. Of the Arya Samaj he was the one hope. The spirit that inspired him has, however, lived. It will for ever continue inspiring young hearts. O that he had taken better care of his body !

KOHAT.

Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Shaukat Ali appeared to us to be between them the last stronghold of Hindu-Muslim Unity. They too, it seems, have begun to look at things from different points of view. The statements, they have issued as regards the developments of the Kohat tragedy, are one a typically Hindu docu-

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ment, the other a characteristically Muhammedan writ. What the Maulana says of the representation of Muhammedans, *viz.* that it is quite an unprepared case—as if a case which is virtually no case could by preparation become a strong one—is true in a greater degree of his own statement. While the Mahatma cites concrete occurences in support of very little allegation he makes the Maulana, without taking the trouble to refute his colleague by accounting for those occurences otherwise, records simply dogmatically his disagreement with his findings. The Muhammedans of Kohat, writes he, had not the benefit of the services of a pleader. Was the Maulana also similarly handicapped? Much as the Maulana may exonerate him of conscious bias, the disease of the masses has evidently infected the topmost leaders. The foremost Muhammedan who has till now avoided every opportunity of committing himself on the question of responsibility for agression in Hindu-Muslim riots, has by the insistence of the Mahatma been compelled to lay bare his inner self. That self alas, is a stranger, not only to genuine national feelling but also to honest love of truth. The Maulana in his magnanimity lays the greater blame on the Muhammedan not because the latter by dint of his excesses merits it, but because the Maulana is himself a Muhammedan. What candid charity—a charity which has yet to learn its lessons in modest reticence! Unity! thou art yet a far-off dream. Nationality! thou art a deferred hope. Truth! thy name is treachery to religion.

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READY

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